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APRIL 1975
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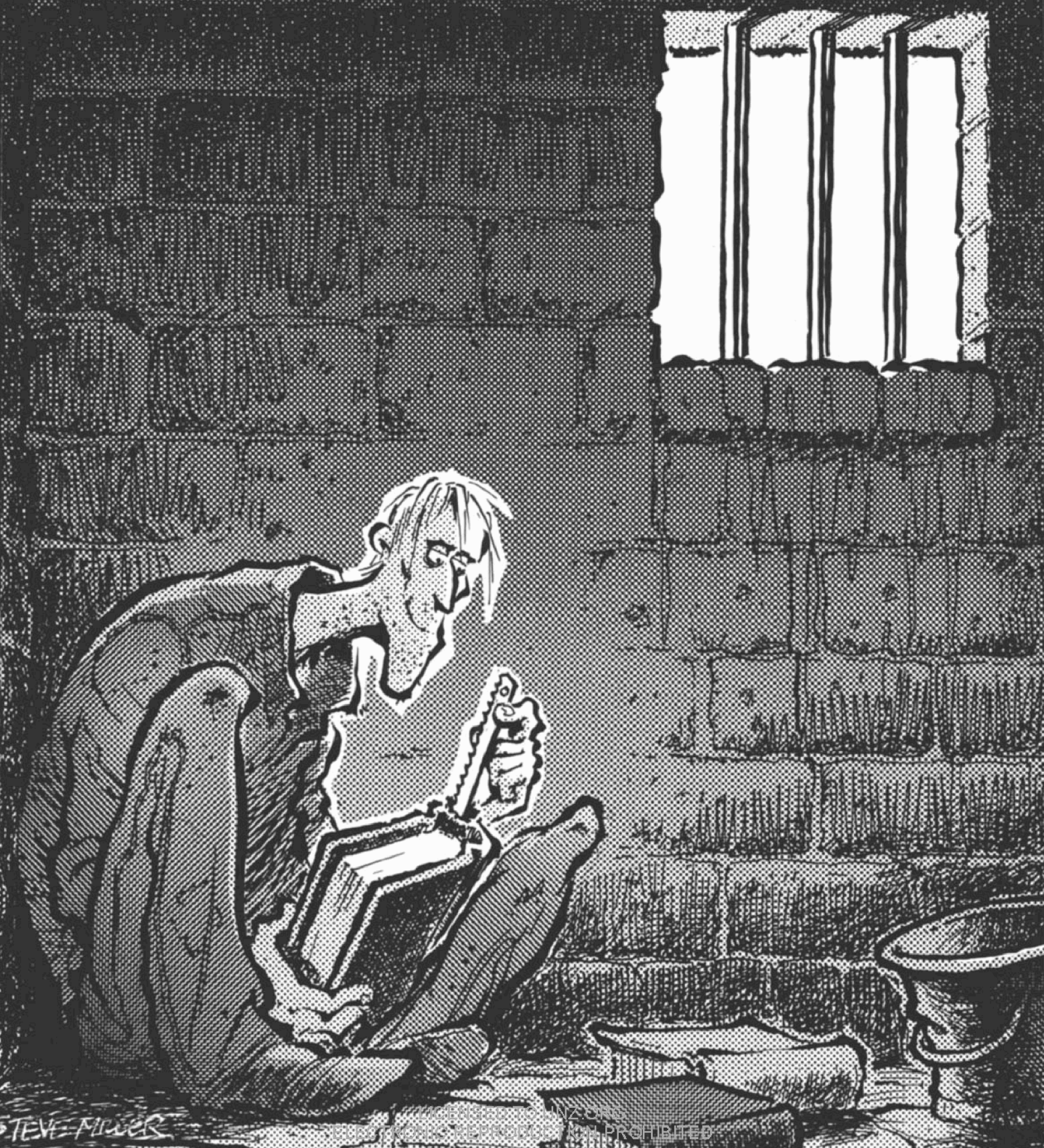
EDUCATING FOR FREEDOM
AN INTERVIEW WITH LEONARD READ

THE CASE FOR POLITICAL ACTION
HOWARD S. KATZ

A MEANINGFUL FRANCHISE
RIDGWAY K. FOLEY, JR.



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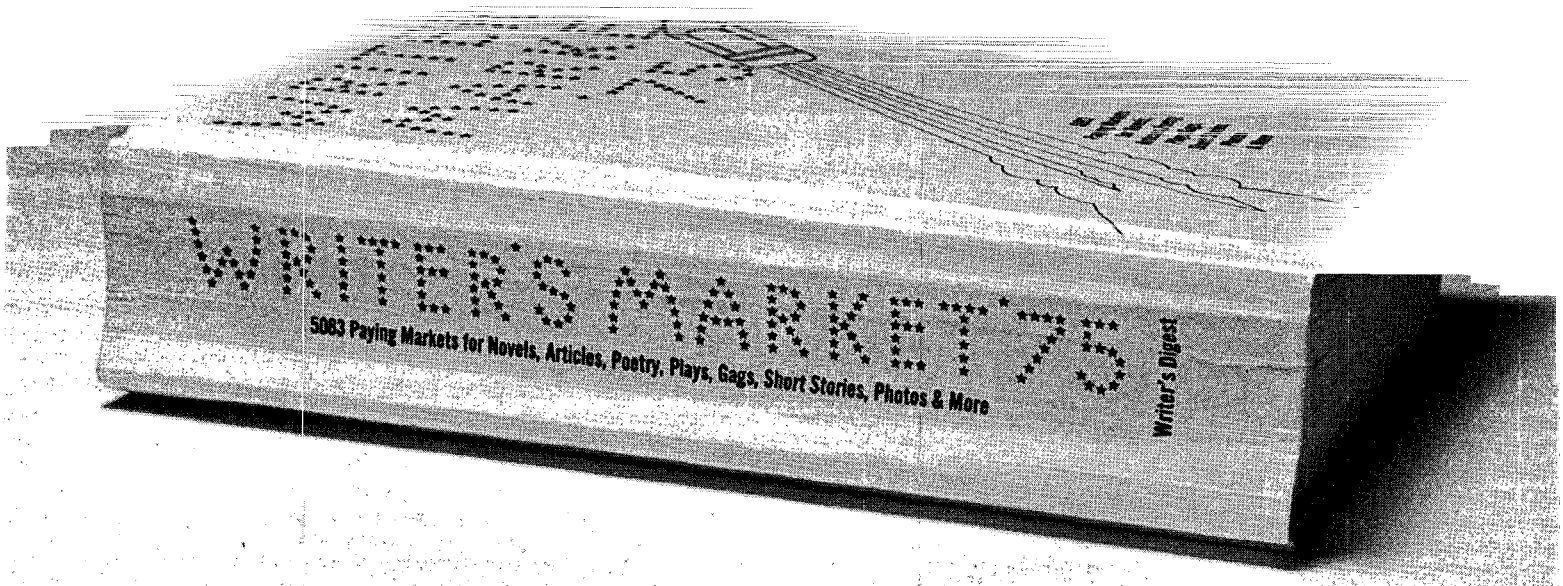

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EDUCATING FOR FREEDOM
An Interview with Leonard Read / page 4

THE CASE FOR POLITICAL ACTION
By Howard S. Katz / page 12

A MEANINGFUL FRANCHISE: The Voter's Complete Choice
By Ridgway K. Foley, Jr. / page 18

EDITORIAL / Manuel S. Klausner
Voter Independence and the "Duty to Vote" Myth / page 30

MONEY / Davis Keeler
Good Guys and Bad Guys / page 31

BOOK REVIEW / John P. Clark, III
Enquiry Concerning Political Justice / page 32

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT: New Hebrides / Robert Poole, Jr.
Competing Governments? / page 34

MOVIES
Report to the Commissioner; Murder on the Orient Express; Les Violons du Bal; Barr's "Bests" / page 36

VIEWPOINT / Murray N. Rothbard
The Oil Caper / page 39

FRONTLINES / Lynn Kinsky / page 40

PUBLISHER'S NOTES / Manuel S. Klausner / page 42

REASON PROFILE: David Brudnoy
Lynn Kinsky / page 44

LETTERS / page 44

RUDEBARBS / page 48

CLASSIFIEDS / page 50

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EDUCATING FOR FREEDOM

An Interview with Leonard Read

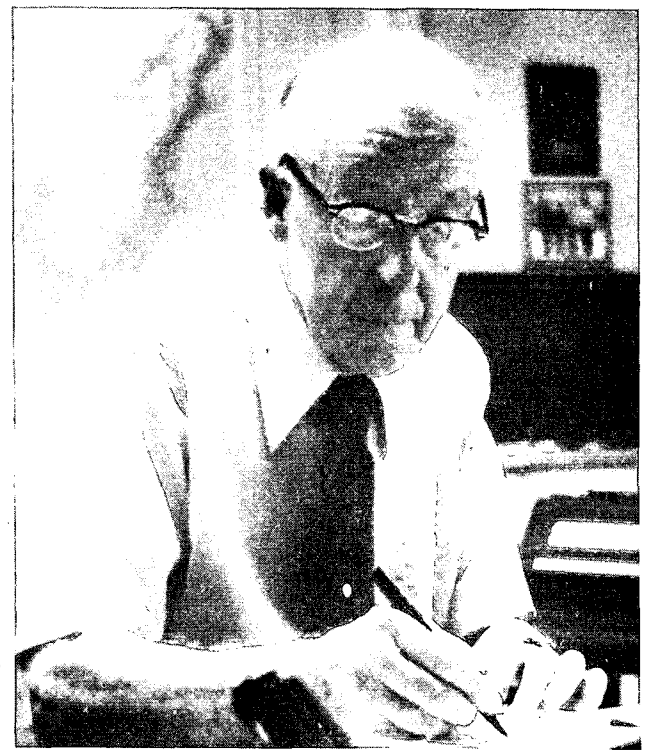
One of the most respected organizations advocating the philosophy of laissez-faire is the Foundation for Economic Education (FEE) in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. For many years FEE has spread the "freedom philosophy" by means of seminars, books, pamphlets, and a monthly magazine, The Freeman, *founded in 1956. FEE's stated purpose is to champion the ideas of private property, the free market, the profit and loss system, and limited government. Its rationale is that the tide of collectivism can be rolled back only if sufficient people understand and support the principles of freedom. It therefore focuses its efforts on educational ventures, and is incorporated as a nonpolitical, nonprofit foundation.*

The founder, president, and guiding influence of FEE and its philosophy of education in freedom is Leonard E. Read. In the summer of 1974, Senior Editor Tibor Machan went to Irvington-on-Hudson to interview Mr. Read. At 11 a.m. Mr. Read was sitting in his spacious office in the FEE mansion, located near the Hudson River on Broadway in midtown Irvington. He is almost always working in this office, as many who have visited FEE would know. (And many people do visit FEE not only to meet the staff, who are virtual household names in libertarian circles, but to browse in FEE's famous library.)

Leonard Read is now in his late 70's but that could only be known from independent sources, not from the looks of him. He is one of the most vigorous people anyone will encounter and is reputed to run up the stairs to his office even these days. His articles, newsletters and his many books have permeated the country. The Freeman, *FEE's monthly journal, edited by Paul Poirot, is the oldest and most widely distributed periodical with free market orientation (yet considerable diversity of views on matters other than economic). Rand, Branden, Rothbard, Friedman, Mises, Hazlitt, Brozen, Sennholz, Hayek, Poole, Machan, and Armentano are some of the well known libertarians who have contributed to* The Freeman *at one time or another.*

The journal FEE publishes gives one a clear enough flavor of the approach Leonard Read takes to his mission in life. The Freeman *publishes essays of detailed scholarship as well as folksy anecdotes—just as long as all of these contribute to a better understanding and appreciation of the philosophy of human liberty. In the present interview Mr. Read does not give us many of the details of his thinking—his views are on record, so the interview dealt with issues not elsewhere available. But it should be pointed out that Mr. Read's defense of liberty rests on somewhat different grounds from many of the others who appear in REASON's pages. The following passages from the September issue of* Notes from FEE *should provide an introduction to his orientation:*

> *[W]hat is man's earthly purpose? . . . our answer is reasoned from a basic premise . . . founded on three assumptions:*
>
> - *Man did not create himself, for it is easily demonstrable that man knows very little about himself. Therefore, my first assumption is the primacy and supremacy of an Infinite Consciousness.*
> - *My second assumption is also demonstrable. While difficult, it is possible for the individual to expand his own awareness, perception, consciousness.*
> - *My third assumption is a profound belief that the intellect—one's mind—is independent; that is to say, it is not subordinate to the organic matter of which one's body is composed. An inference from this belief is a conviction of the immortality of the human spirit or consciousness, this earthly moment not being all there is to it. It is consciousness that is immortalized, not the body or wealth or fame or any such thing. In a word, consciousness is* the *reality!*



Photos by Marty Zupan

Many of our readers may disagree with this orientation, nonetheless, it serves to illustrate the multifaceted support enjoyed by the political idea of a free society. Our aim here, as with all of our interviews, is to bring to our readers the individuals providing this kind of support in the context of a candid, unrehearsed conversation with REASON's representatives. Hopefully our interview feature will continue to serve one of REASON's vital functions. So without further ado, we offer our conversation with Mr. Leonard Read.

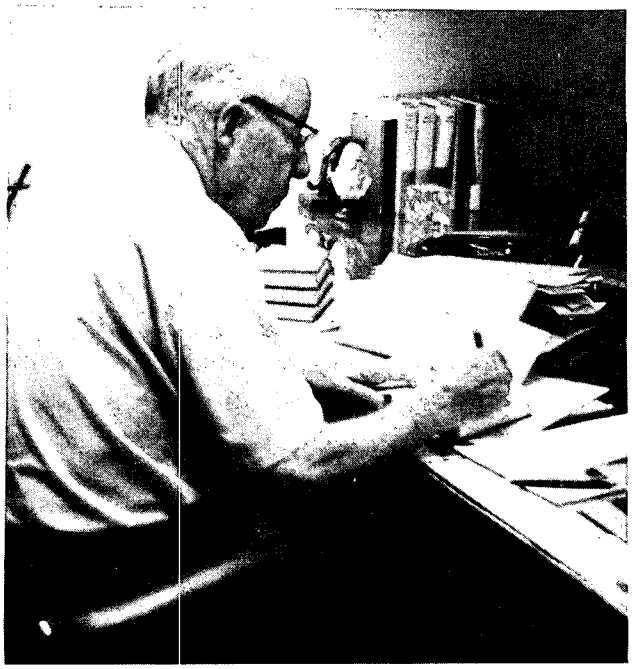
REASON: Mr. Read, please tell us of your initiation into libertarianism.

READ: My initiation goes back to the year 1933 when I was the Western Manager for the United States Chamber of Commerce. I was so naive that I thought that anything that came out as United States Chamber policy was straight from the horse's mouth. And the United States Chamber in those days was in support of the NIRA—the National Industrial Recovery Act. I got word that a very brilliant businessman, in Los Angeles, was making disparaging references about the U.S. Chamber policy, so I thought it incumbent upon me to call upon him and straighten him out. I called on one W. C. Mullendore, then executive vice president of Southern California Edison Company. I didn't know it at the time but he was one of the most brilliant advocates of our philosophy of any businessman I have ever known. He received me very courteously and let me talk, which I did for half an hour, dwelling upon the virtues of U.S. Chamber policies. When I ran out of breath, Mr. Mullendore took over. Today I would give $1,000 for a recording of what he said to me in that one hour. When he was through, I said, "Mr. Mullendore I have never thought of any of these things this way before. I believe you are right." That was my initiation and from that time on it has been an obsession.

REASON: You have said to me privately that you are somewhat dismayed with the word "libertarian" these days. Please tell us why.

READ: Yes. The word "liberal" was once a good term and was used by the classical economists; it meant liberalization of the individual from the tyranny of the state. But the other side took it over, expropriated it, and so I thought we ought to have a new word. And I'm the one who brought out and popularized the word "libertarian," and it's gone all over the world. But there are numerous reasons why I have quit the use of it. Number one, just like the word "liberal," it has been taken over by all sorts of persons, like any good word always is. People all the way from anarchists to out-and-out socialists, have taken it over. So if someone says to me, "What are you, Read?" and I say a libertarian, they will identify me with one of those and it will not be correct. So I have dropped the term and today if someone asks me what I am I reply Leonard Read. And then, if asked, "What do you have in mind in the way of ideology?" my answer is "An ideal." Perhaps a dialogue will begin and I may learn more from him than he will learn from me.

REASON: *The Freeman* is well known and is the oldest publication that has published authors who favor the free society. How did the magazine come into being?



READ: Here is the history. *The Freeman* was a name given to a journal put out in the 1920's by Albert J. Nock; later a journal by the same name was published by the Georgists. In 1939, when I was General Manager of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce I set up an ad hoc outfit known as Pamphleteers, Inc. We labeled our booklets, *The Freeman.* Still later, this name was given to a journal of opinion, published in New York. Henry Hazlitt was one of the editors, and later John Chamberlain. Following its failure, we took it over at FEE with Frank Chodorov as editor. We lost a lot of money and gave it up. In 1956 we began the publication of our present monthly magazine—not a journal of opinion but, rather, a journal presenting what we call the free market, private ownership, limited government philosophy with its moral and spiritual antecedents. That's how the present *Freeman* came about.

REASON: You have quite a reputation for being able to gain support for *The Freeman* and your foundation. Is this something that you find an outgrowth of your own philosophy?

READ: We have what really is a novel idea here—it's been mine ever since we started. I made up my mind that I was never going to pass a tin cup. We have never asked anybody for one cent, any more than I have asked you for support. Anyone goes on our mailing list for the asking and I've discovered that about 25 percent of them will become contributors on their initiative, not on our request, and we may be doing better financially than any other organization on our side of the fence. This is a discipline. You see we have to continue to do good work or the support quits and we're out of business and that's what should happen.

REASON: There *is* a little notice that one gets, though, which announces something to the effect that this is the place that one might be able to contribute to the kind of work that you've been doing.

READ: Yes. What we really say is if you desire to do it, here's a form you may fill out. And that's as far as we go. That's all.

REASON: Let me get to a more substantive issue. Would you elaborate some of the key points of your general position, your methodology.

READ: Well, with reference to methodology, it's my thesis (and that of all of us here at FEE) that the advancement of the free market—or the freedom philosophy, as I sometimes call it—is a *learning* rather than a *selling* problem. You see there are so many persons who consider they are on our side of the fence simply because they are against the welfare state and the planned economy that's so rapidly taking over. But that does not qualify them. It might be the first step to be against that. But what you have to do is to be *for* something. There has to be something positive. You have to be able, not only to present what's *wrong,* but you have to be able to present what's *right.* It's a learning problem. I am convinced that there's not one of us past or present who has more than scratched the surface in making the case for the free market, private ownership, limited government philosophy.

"I'm the one who brought out and popularized the word 'libertarian' and it's gone all over the world."

REASON: What sort of things would have to be added to the case for this philosophy to make it a little more on the winning side?

READ: Where we fall down is this: there is a wisdom in the market which, if I were to say is a trillion times greater than exists in any discreet individual, it would be an understatement. Now that sounds kind of astounding. But how many persons are there—to my knowledge, not one—who is able to explain the wisdom in the market that doesn't exist in a discreet individual? Logically, persuasively, attractively so that other persons who can understand will understand? I tried myself, I do this lecture on the freedom

of the market—I did it yesterday morning—and am doing a little bit better each time, but it is far from where it ought to be. What I'm trying to do is to encourage other persons to explain it better than I can.

REASON: But you're saying that the wisdom is so much greater than is possible for anyone to explain.

READ: It isn't *impossible.* It is a point in excellence which no one of us yet has reached.

REASON: I don't mean to be systematically controversial, but I think these differences are worth bringing out: You would not say that anyone like Ludwig von Mises or F. A. Hayek or Ayn Rand or Milton Friedman has succeeded in explaining, to the best of our human knowledge up to date, what is the wisdom of the market?

READ: Quite. Consider Hayek for example. He's the one who really set me off on this line of thinking back in 1961. We published a piece in *The Freeman* entitled "The Uses of Knowledge in Society" and that inspired me to write my first piece on the miracle of the market. Edmund Burke referred to it as an immemorial heritage. And I like to refer to it as the overall luminosity—that enormous wisdom. Mises or Rand or Read or whoever has not done the adequate job yet in making it clear enough so that other people can understand it. In other words I'm aware of how little *I* know.

REASON: That's an interesting point. Now we have interviewed a number of people in the profreedom camp and amongst them, almost all turn out to be of the skeptical bent. Their position is that we know so little of what goes on that perhaps that is our best argument against coercion. But there are others, however, who find this skeptical approach to the defense of liberty self-negating. If there's so little *we* know and then a John Kenneth Galbraith comes forth and says "But *I* know it all," then oughtn't he be given the opportunity to make his way our way as opposed to we who admit that we know very little?

READ: You see there are very few people on earth who are aware of how little they know. It was Socrates who said "That man thinks he knows everything, whereas he knows nothing. I on the other hand, know nothing, but I know I know nothing." And it is not until a person empties himself of know-it-allness that he can possibly rise in wisdom and understanding and excellence. And in that respect I resemble Socrates.

REASON: Let me raise a more detailed point. Some advocates of the free society consider government an unnecessary evil and incompatible with the freedom philosophy. What would you respond to that?

READ: Let me first consider the idea that government is said to be a necessary evil. This saying appears to be without merit, for can anything be at once necessary and evil? True, all governments have had a history of evil doing, more or less. However it does not follow from this experience that their good is indistinguishable from their evil. Governments, assuming a proper limitation of their activities, are necessary and not evil. Their evil begins when they step out of bounds. The only necessity is that their evil actions be discontinued. Such an achievement is unlikely until the principles prescribing the boundary lines are searched for and found.

REASON: There are those, however, arguing that government is not a necessary but an *unnecessary* evil. They are mitigated anarchists who would not even admit that there's any need for the government, but that the marketplace would take care of the need governments supposedly fulfill.

"The advancement of the free market philosophy is a learning *rather than a* selling *problem."*

READ: Well, obviously I do not agree with that point. I wrote a book in 1954 entitled *Government, An Ideal Concept.* And in that I brought out the point that Man is at once a social and an individualistic being. I tried to identify those aspects of Man which are social—the balance being individualistic. That's my belief. Socialism is planned chaos and anarchy is unplanned chaos. So far as I am concerned I couldn't care for either.

REASON: At some point or another you endorsed the idea of a certain form of taxation that would be permissible under the system of limited government that you would favor. Could you elaborate on this for us?

READ: In my book in 1954, I said that the tax to support a principled government—a government limited to where it should be limited—that tax is appropriate. But when there's a tax for the unprincipled activities of the government—that's robbery. But there is a way to draw that line and I do it in the book.

REASON: You know this is a very touchy point with most libertarians, because they would say, I think, that the moment you allow any kind of

payment to be extracted by way of coercion the government is put outside of the realm of its proper function.

READ: Yes, I know. I hear that all the time. And you see—you use the word coercion. Really there are two types of physical force. One is defensive and the other is aggressive. And I can illustrate what I mean by the aggressive. Let's assume that I'm government and I stand here with a gun in front of your home and I keep away the marauders and the thieves. That is a defensive use of force. If on the other hand with that gun I go into your home and take your possessions and keep them for myself or give them to others, that is the aggressive use of force and I don't buy that at all. That's a clarifying point for me in my thinking.

"Governments, assuming a proper limitation of their activities, are necessary and not evil. Their evil begins when they step out of bounds."

REASON: Suppose no one has invited you to that door to keep away the people who are threatening or aggressing upon it—but you still protect that house and then, once you have succeeded, you go in and start to collect for your services. Suppose the people living there say "I'm sorry, we didn't invite you here to work for us, so please go away." Would you say that they are acting justly or not?

READ: I would say not. And that's too long a point for me to develop in this interview but I said earlier that every person is at once a social as well as an individualistic being. You are not outside of society or anyone else.

REASON: I'd like to ask you about another person who is respected by many of our readers and whom you know—Ayn Rand. It's fair to state you disagree with her in at least one respect, and that is the issue of the primacy of human reason as a means by which to approach the problems of politics, ethics, and life in general. You appear to see an inherent mystery in reality.

READ: As a matter of fact, everything in life, from a blade of grass to the blink of an eye to a galaxy, is mystery. And I happen to think that there is something over Leonard Read's mind. I don't know what it is. I believe with Ralph Waldo Emerson that there is something—I don't know what it is, but there's something—over and beyond me. And all I have to do is to know that it is, and it's all mystery. Sometimes I'm called a mystic or neomystic by reason of believing that there's something over and beyond my mind. But I do and I acknowledge it and I'm glad of it. The world would be in one hell of a mess if there weren't.

REASON: Apropos Ayn Rand—you were influential in bringing Ayn Rand's novel *Anthem* to publication in the United States. How did that come about?

READ: Bill Mullendore and I were at her home for dinner one night. Mullendore made the statement, along toward midnight, "Someday I'm going to write a book assuming a condition of 100 percent communism and then argue the case for freedom from that vantage point," and Miss Rand spoke up and said she had already written that book. And I said "Ayn, I thought I had read everything you had ever written, and I've never heard of it. What's the title?" She said *"Anthem."* "Where's it published?" "They wouldn't publish it in the United States—It's published in England." "May I see a copy?" She said, "I have only one copy and I will not release it to anyone." Well, anyway I pleaded with her and she loaned it to me. I said, "I'm flying to New York in the morning. I will return it tomorrow afternoon." And I read it on the plane. Then I gave it to my secretary and said, "Return this to Miss Rand," and just before quitting that night I asked "Did you return it?" and she said "Yes, but I took it to lunch with me and I read it. Isn't it too bad that other people cannot read that book!"

Well I mentioned before that I had this ad hoc outfit in Los Angeles, Pamphleteers, Inc., and under that imprint I published *Anthem* and wrote the foreword myself. It is a perfectly remarkable book. And I might add that Miss Rand is one of the most brilliant women I have ever met in my life.

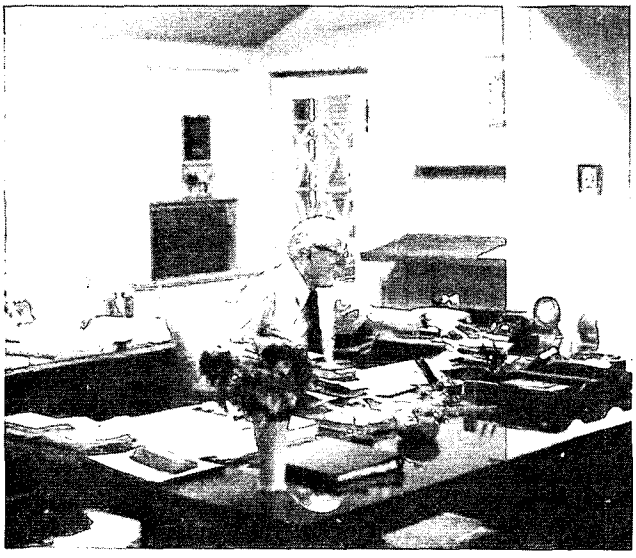
REASON: Let me ask you a question that I think is on the minds of a number of people. What do you think about the current state of affairs in American politics and culture? Are we on a disaster path?

READ: Based upon the historical record, it's evolution/devolution, evolution/devolution, on and on. It's a wave sequence sort of a thing and in my judgment we are in one of those. Now these devolutionary things—the things that are happening in the United States—are happening in every country on the face of this earth. It's a world-wide phenomenon. But in my judgment it has its purpose. I wrote in one of my books one time that everything seemingly bad has some good in it if you can find it. What can be good about this? What's good about it is that it's causing a lot of people like you and thousands of others of us to do some thinking that we have never done before. In other words, in order to emerge, to evolve, to gain in awareness, perception, consciousness, it's absolute-

ly necessary that we have obstacles to overcome. We emerge by stepping over and above the problems. Well, we have a very fine problem on our hands here but there are tens of thousands of people today who are waking up and who are using something above the shoulders that they would not have used had we been in a state of prosperity.

REASON: That is one account of the growth of philosophy in the later periods of ancient Greece. That paints a rather dismal picture for the prospects of a free society. It implies that if we do achieve the prosperous free society, intellectual lethargy must accompany it.

READ: Usually that's what happened, but here we have to have—and this is necessary—an "intellectual rising" above that. People have got to come to understand the meaning of prosperity. Now what is



the purpose of wealth? Is the purpose of wealth to get out of life? To vegetate, that sort of thing? No! It is to free the individual from that slavery which poverty imposes, that one may get ever, ever deeper into life pursuing his own uniqueness. That is the purpose of it. Now that is a very deep problem but as things go on in this universe more and more has to be expected of Man. Not less and less. Not vegetation.

REASON: You mentioned the evolution/devolution concept regarding your notion of history. There is a problem with that idea. It is that it confines Man to an *inevitable* sequence. He as an individual can do nothing. What is to prevent him from just throwing up his hands and saying, "Let it happen"?

READ: Yes. That's what many are doing, but that's not my philosophy. This is a challenge which can be intellectually met. Will it? I don't know, because I do not have a crystal ball and if I had one I wouldn't know how to read it nor does anybody else.

REASON: When I came into your office I noticed that you were autographing some copies of your newest book. How well do your own books sell and how well do the books of the Foundation in general sell?

READ: Well, we have about 115 volumes in what we call our Freedom Library—three of these, *Economics in One Lesson, The Mainspring of Human Progress* and *The Law,* have now sold well over one-half million volumes each. Now when it comes to my books they sell about as fast as Mises' books. My books will sell something between 5 and 12 thousand volumes—something like that. Not big sellers and they never will be big sellers. I don't expect them to be.

REASON: Do you advertise primarily through *The Freeman* or do you have independent advertising?

READ: We do announcements any time we bring out a book. All I do is devise a flyer and send it to the mailing list and if they want it they order it. That's all.

REASON: How is the Foundation itself doing financially these days? What are the plans for the future?

READ: Financially the Foundation is doing well—perhaps better than any other organization of our general faith. So far as our seminars are concerned, we're getting better at explaining the freedom philosophy and the participants are far more eager beaver—wanting to know—than they were a few years ago. It's fantastically encouraging.

REASON: There has been criticism of *The Freeman* at times—I don't mean any kind of hostile criticisms, but observations to the effect that *The Freeman* is a mixed journal. It mixes scholarly papers with anecdotal pieces. How do you evaluate this mixture?

READ: I think it's a pretty good idea to mix them up. There are people who read the little anecdotal things who will not read the scholarly ones and vice versa. And the main thing is this: I cannot insinuate one of my ideas into your consciousness—the only thing that I can do or *The Freeman* can do or any of us can do is to bring an idea to the brink of another's mind. And until that individual absorbs it into his own tissue, so to speak, nothing happens. In other words, what each person has to do is to start learning for himself and the main thing is that we can help each other. When I take a look at my own situation, if I acknowledged the help that I've been given by other persons over the centuries, past and present, it may account for everything I do.

REASON: You wouldn't want, however, to deny the enormous significance of the individual in integrating these ideas and making something out of them

however many people have contributed to the development of the ideas and the theories and the projects and plans? It's still an individual that has to put them into effect.

READ: Of course. That is right.

REASON: Let me ask some more questions about your substantive basic view. Do you have a theory of evil, just as you have a theory of good? What would you consider the fundamental wrong thing for people to do in their lives, that which gives rise to all the other humanly caused ills that we experience in life?

READ: I wrote a book one time entitled *Deeper Than You Think,* and stated that if you asked me "What is the cause of this inflation?" I could answer. Then if you asked what is the cause of that, I could tell you. And so forth. Then pretty soon you get to the question, what causes human beings to behave the way they do? And I do not know the answer to that. I do have my own way of identifying evil, those things I consider to be wrong. Let me put it this way. Perhaps the most important thing in my philosophy is what I refer to as integrity. Integrity is that which my highest conscience dictates as right. That may not in fact be right, but that is as close to righteousness as Read can get. Now that's morality and any deviation from that—for instance, for me to say to you in this interview something that I do not believe to be true in order to gain favor, that would be a lie—would be evil. And it's the basic evil.

"What's good about the current state of affairs is that it's causing a lot of people to do some thinking that we have never done before."

REASON: Do you think that Christian ethics constitutes the best foundation of the whole system of free society?

READ: Well, if you ask me what are my foundations, or my moral foundations, it would be the Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments. You know this puts me on the side of the writers of the Declaration of Independence. They said that all Men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. That among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. By proclaiming the Creator as the endower of Men's rights, they proclaim the Creator, not government, as sovereign—denying government that ancient and medieval role.

REASON: Of course the idea of Creator is very complicated. There are a number of studies on the Founding Fathers concluding that they were mostly *deists.* Deism is the view that God may have initially created the universe, but has since then stood aside, not worrying about it any more, leaving it up to us to do the best we can with it. In that way, it is left to us to identify the principles of correct conduct. There are arguments to the effect that the concept "Creator" is in the Declaration because it avoids the problem of clearly committing oneself to any form of theism. The Creator could very well be just Nature itself, not some conscious being. In any case, the doctrine of human rights may not be tied as closely to theism as your answer indicates. But you yourself, however, prefer that way of arguing for the free society?

READ: Yes. A lot of people use different terms for something over and beyond the mind. They use the term "God." I use the terms "infinite consciousness" or "infinite intelligence." Spinoza and Goethe for example used the word "nature." It was Goethe who said "Nature understands no jesting. She is always true, always serious, always severe. She is always right and the errors and faults are always those of man. The man incapable of appreciating her she despises and only to apt, the pure and the true does she resign herself and reveal her secrets." I'm using that term as synonymous with something over and above Read's mind, as they did; they used nature instead of God or Jehovah, didn't they?

REASON: I understand. You've stated it quite clearly.

Let me now get to a couple of real political issues. You are familiar with the record of the Nixon administration. One of its highlights was Nixon's attempt to repair some of the problems that existed between Communist China and the United States. One of the consequences of that diplomatic feat of Richard Nixon's may be expansion or increase of trade between Red China and the United States. Do you believe that trade with Red China is something that can be regarded as a matter of exercising one's human rights in a free society? Some argue that it would be an act of treason.

READ: I've just written a piece on it. The true ambassadors of goodwill are men free to produce, free to exchange, free to travel. But things get all mixed up when the ambassadors are politicians. I don't like that. I would let you trade with anybody that you pleased.

REASON: The problem here is that some people would want to characterize trading with that government somewhat on the order of trading with a thief who's peddling stolen goods. And that puts the matter in a rather different perspective.

READ: Of course it does. And it's not easy to resolve, but if you wanted to trade with another government, go ahead and do it and take your chances.

REASON: You would not agree that the United States should insure you with taxpayers' money!

READ: Absolutely not!

REASON: You have been advocating the freedom philosophy for several decades now. How do you assess your contributions—your efforts to achieve liberty in our time?

READ: There is really no way to make such an assessment that has any meaning. I don't know. I just received a letter this morning from a friend in Australia who said, "Do you not get distraught because people do not let you know how much they're benefiting from what you and the Foundation do?" And my answer is, "I do not." The only way I would get distraught would be if I were not doing the best possible for me in realizing my own capabilities.

"We're getting better at explaining the freedom philosophy and our seminar participants are far more eager than they were a few years ago."

REASON: You do consider yourself a successful person?

READ: Well it's according to how you want to measure success.

REASON: Measuring it by your own standards! How else am I going to ask the question right now? But you would say that your goals, your mission is being served with the best of your ability?

READ: I will say that I am working day and night to the best of my ability. I don't want to say more than that.

REASON: You know, you're a person in your late 70's and you are in excellent shape, very lucid and have a full day. To what do you attribute this enormous success, at least in that respect?

READ: Well, so far as the Foundation is concerned, I have a good number of people here who work with and not for me. We work together, which permits me

to do all these things, all this travelling, all this writing, everything else. And I don't find myself in want of time at all.

REASON: You don't have some secret formula that you would divulge on how to keep fit in old age?

READ: Not exactly. But I would suggest that you control yourself against fretting, worry, anger, all the forms of stress. That's the main thing in life—keep away from stress—because it kills you. Keep happy; have fun!

REASON: Do you have any opinions of efforts that are being made on other fronts to advance liberty?

READ: I stick to my own path as you know; it's possible that what we're doing here is not absolutely right, and so I'm in favor of everybody doing what they think is right, and from all of us, will come, I think, some approach to truth.

REASON: Maybe you would like to convey to our readers some final thoughts.

READ: Most people are today distressed with the disagreements among those of us who in a general way favor this free market, private ownership, limited government philosophy. I, however, am not distraught by this at all. You see, and I admit it, all of us are at sixes and sevens. No two of us have precisely the same ideas of what ought and ought not to be. Indeed yours and mine are in a constant flux. No one excepting a mummy ever stays put. My answer to these disagreements is simply this: dialogue. Free and open discussion. You airing your thoughts and I mine. This is a way to emerge in awareness, to gain enlightenment, to discover truth. Now and then a glimmer from you or perhaps from me. It is this freedom in discourse that assures ascendency. ◻

Howard S Katz

One of the ongoing debates among advocates of political and economic freedom is over methodology: what is the best way to achieve a greater degree of freedom than exists today? Some, like Leonard Read (interviewed in this issue) argue that massive educational efforts are a precondition for any meaningful increase in freedom. Others, like Harry Browne (in his book How I Found Freedom in an Unfree World) *emphasize self-protection and self-preservation, arguing that individuals can't change the world and shouldn't waste time trying. Still others, such as the Libertarian Party, argue that political action can and should be used to roll back the power of the State. It is this latter point of view that is argued in Howard Katz's article. Mr. Katz thinks that political action is not only feasible, but* necessary *if we are to have political and economic freedom.*

It is almost a self-evident proposition that one ought to pursue one's values. That is, one ought to act to achieve those purposes and goals which are good and valuable. The great bulk of humanity carefully follows this prescription in the unimportant details which makes up their lives, but totally disregards it in the major issues which determine the direction of those lives. One of the stark tragedies of the modern hard-money movement is the way in which so many people in it (dear reader, this might mean you) are living their lives—and I mean by this, in relation to their fundamental choices of goals—in total disregard of the knowledge they possess in the field of economics.

But we are used to thinking of values in connection with esoteric subjects, such as ethics or aesthetics or perhaps politics. What have values got to do with economics, in particular with making a living? To answer this let me take an example which will be far enough removed from present controversies to be susceptible to impartial judgment.

Consider the time in human history immediately after the discovery of agriculture. Agriculture was a mode of production which allowed a vast increase in material wealth. The techniques and methods of the art were new so there was large room for improvement and ample opportunity for invention and ingenuity. Before the discovery of agriculture an ambitious and competent youth could only look forward to a life of hunting and gathering, just as his father had done. But after the discovery of agriculture he was faced with a choice; this choice was of a moral nature. It required of him a re-*evaluation.* This is, it required him to reassess his values and to do so by a rational process. All of the nonrational factors—conservatism, fear of the new, family pressure, the opinion of the community, simple inertia—worked to persuade him of the incorrect choice. It was only a rational decision on the subject of values which gave him the proper choice.

Note has often been made of the great amount of talent in the field of politics in the late 18th century—men such as Jefferson, Madison and Hamilton—and the total lack of talent in the late 19th century, where we find example after example of dull, mediocre presidents and statesmen, all very much in the tradition of the Founding Fathers, but

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THE CASE FOR POLITICAL ACTION

incapable of any new inspiration or greatness, capable only of dutifully and adequately following along a path laid out before with principles taught them by others.

Where were the great leaders in politics in the latter part of the 19th century? Where were the individuals of intelligence and energy which the country had surely proved itself capable of producing? The answer is: they were in business. The greatest value in the world of the 18th century was *freedom.* But by the 19th century this value had been achieved (just as by the time of the industrial revolution, the value of proper agriculture had been achieved). The great minds of the 18th century turned themselves to the question of freedom, and thus to the sphere of politics; the great minds of the 19th century, living in a country where the principles of freedom were already well understood, turned their minds to further advances, to the great value represented by the railroad, to the application of science to the improvement of human life.

TODAY'S WORLD

Now what is important to understand is that our age has seen a fundamental change in world conditions making it essentially different from the world of the 19th century. Most such fundamental changes in human history are advances; however, our age has seen a regression. This regression is the loss of freedom which has blighted the 20th century and constitutes the principal problem of our time.

The reason freedom is so important is that *it is a prerequisite* to any other value. Without freedom, as Ayn Rand points out, no other values are possible. For people living as serfs under the control of a government bureaucrat there is simply no point to working for any value. Why try to build a business when a government edict can destroy it at any time?

Why work for 20 years of your life to build something when a bureaucrat's mistake can wipe it out?

If the above paragraph appears to be an abstraction, then consider the following examples—known to me personally. A small businessman is wiped out when an urban renewal project removes his customers. The project offers to relocate him in another area, but it would require many years for him to build a clientel, and he is an elderly man. He thought he had provided for an old age of self sufficiency and dignity. But he becomes a ward of the state. A small independent trucker is denied a license to operate interstate because he lacks the requisite political pull; so he can never build his business beyond a small, local enterprise.

Sit down for a minute and start to review *your* personal life plans in the light of what you know about economics and in the light of the kind of thing which has been happening for the past few years in America.

Bear in mind that the beneficial effect on business of a paper money expansion wears off after a time so that to achieve the same beneficial effects ever greater issues of paper money are needed. We can thus expect the paper money issues to accelerate, leading to an ever greater rate of currency depreciation. (This of course has been the history of the past 25 years.) Additionally, it becomes more and more difficult to maintain the profits of the corporate establishment in the face of growing public alarm over the depreciation of the currency. There is thus a necessity for a greater and greater degree of government control over the economy. (This also has been the history of the past 25 years.) Project these trends forward 15 years.

"Every once in a while world conditions undergo a major change which necessitates a change in our system of values."

In 15 years we can look forward to a world in which prices rise at a rate between 15 and 25 percent annually and in which price and wage controls (which keep the price increases off the official statistics and drive them onto the black markets) have become permanent. With the currency depreciating so rapidly it will be extremely advantageous to go heavily into debt; with controls so important to business it will be necessary to have connections with the right politicians. For both of these reasons big business will prosper at the expense of small. With so much paper money floating around wild emotional periods on the stock and commodity markets (such as that of 1967-68 or 1972-3) will be common.

There are several types of people whose personal characteristics fit nicely into such an environment. There is the team player, who is very good at getting along with his peer group, but not too good at doing his job. He fits nicely into a big corporation but won't work out too well in a small business. There is the political type who has friends in high places (or the obsequious bureaucratic type who gets appointed to the high place). And there is the promoter type who concocts wild schemes to take advantage of emotional periods on the stock and commodity markets.

While such people will profit from the chaos of the coming years, it is safe to assume that the hard-money people reading REASON are not such types. The economic principle of hard money—that one can not get something for nothing—is also a basic view of life which shapes an individual's character and personality. Where will the something for something people be in 15 years? They will be exploited to pay for the benefits accruing to the other class. How this exploitation will occur will differ in each individual case. Take the above picture of the world of 1989 and integrate it with your own personality, situation and life goals. There is no way for an honest person to succeed in that kind of environment.

What do *you* do as an individual if, after working years at a career, you realize that you are not promoted because you are not "one of the team" or if your small business is beaten out in the competition because it cannot command sufficient credit or if you are fired because the promoter type who runs the conglomerate which just took you over made a collossal business error?

There is no way to avoid these consequences. The absence of freedom penetrates into every nook and cranny of society. It covers every country in the world. Despite all of our troubles the United States is still the freest country in the world. There is no place to run.

RE-EVALUATE

It follows that, for people who recognize this, there is a *re-evaluation* required, just as there was for the youth at the time of the agricultural revolution or the industrial revolution. We cannot simply follow along pursuing the goals and values taught us by our parents. In their world it was a high ideal to be a successful scientist, businessperson or professional. But however worthy these goals are in the abstract, they are not the proper goals for our time. Already currency depreciation has proceeded to the point where most firms employing scientists are giant corporations (necessary in order to go heavily into debt to benefit from the depreciated currency and to get government contracts). Today's scientist is no Thomas Edison or Henry Ford working in his bicycle shop. He is a little cog in a big machine where ability is subordinate to teamwork and where, if he does his

job badly, they may find out in five years or they may not find out at all. The profits and future of Lockheed Corporation do not depend on the scientists or professional people employed. They depend on top management's political influence.

What is required, then, for our time is pursuit of the value of freedom. This is the goal which is properly realistic for our age. To pursue other values which are based on freedom at a time when freedom itself is slipping away is futile and impractical.

But against this conclusion, among those who understand economics and our monetary problems and who value freedom, an opposing argument is advanced: Yes, it is conceded, freedom is a prime moral value, but freedom is a value for society as a whole. Why should I as an individual devote myself to working for other people's freedom? Wouldn't this be altruism? Those who have knowledge of our economic and monetary difficulties should use this knowledge to profit as individuals. Cooperative action is collectivistic.

This is the argument popularized by Harry Browne, and there is much in it that appeals to the conservative mind. There is selfishness (as per Ayn Rand). There is individualism, in the sense of the single person acting alone. There is economic knowledge used for one's benefit. All of these are virtues which have a great appeal to the conservative-libertarian mind.

However, as valid as these virtues are in the abstract, in the situation which exists today they are of no help. This is not the way to counter the problem we in the 20th century face. Let me take an example.

Suppose you lived in a primitive village. Suppose you discovered, through facts and reasoning not generally accessible, that your village would soon come under attack by a powerful enemy. What course of action would you puruse? Would you argue that security against invasion is a value to the village as a whole and that it was altruistic to try to save the village? Would you say that you should act to save yourself through superior knowledge?

Of course not. You would realize that your own individual well being lay through the village. Only if the village was saved could you be saved. You would have to alert the other villagers to the danger and rouse them to a common defense. You would have to take cooperative action instead of solitary action.

In this situation Harry Browne would call you an altruist for helping to save the whole village. He would call you a collectivist for cooperating with others.

But this situation with the primitive village is exactly analogous to the monetary situation in modern America. In America today a tiny group of people have the power to issue paper money; the rest of us have the obligation to accept it. The operation of this process is to exploit the latter class in favor of the former.

This exploitation occurs through the depreciation of the currency. It is exacted through a political process, and it can only be repealed through a political process. As long as there exists a legal tender law, some people will be able to rob others via paper money.

What Harry Browne advocates is that you make up your losses by wise financial moves. But it should be clear that you can only make up your losses by taking wealth from some of your fellow losers. The issuers of the paper money have already gained. For the losers to try to beat each other out to make up their losses is not a *fundamental* solution.

I (of all people) certainly do not condemn speculation or wise financial moves. My advice is to recommend such tactics in *all* situations. However, this is completely irrelevant to the losses suffered from paper money. One can speculate in a society with a gold standard, and one can speculate in a society with paper money. Best of luck. But in the latter case an additional amount will be taken from you (above and beyond what you win or lose) by the depreciation of the currency.

THE FALLACY

The basic error Harry Browne is committing is a fallacy very common to conservative-libertarians. It is the placing of economic power above political power. Anarcho-capitalists commit this fallacy when they assume that the market will, if left alone, create defense agencies which perform the proper functions of government. Libertarian economists commit this fallacy when they assume that the bankers' paper money schemes will be defeated by market forces.

"Why work for 20 years of your life to build something when a bureaucrat's mistake can wipe it out?"

It is true that the paper money schemes will be defeated in the sense that the predictions made by the Paul Volckers and the John Kenneth Galbraiths will not come true. But these predictions are not *expected* to come true. They are pure propaganda measures and are not believed by the men who make them. All through the early and mid-1960's the Kennedy and LBJ monetary economists predicted that the Bretton Woods system would endure. When this prediction failed, the libertarian economists declared: "Aha, the forces of the marketplace have defeated these foolish Keynesians. The Bretton Woods system has been destroyed by the law of supply and demand."

But if we look at what the Keynesian economists

were *doing* in the early and mid-1960's, we get quite a different picture. They were running all around the world setting up the system of Special Drawing Rights (SDR's). Thus, when the Bretton Woods system collapsed, there was no return to gold as the international currency, and when the time is right to junk the system of floating exchange rates, the move will be to the adoption of the SDR as an international currency, not gold. If the SDR had not been created, there would have been no alternative but a devaluation of the dollar and a gold (as opposed to a gold-exchange) standard in international affairs.

So while the libertarian economists were saying: "We predict that your schemes will fail because of *economic forces,*" the Keynesian economists were taking *political action* to continue and extend the system of paper money. They knew that the Bretton Woods system was about to collapse. Their predictions were outright lies for the purpose of propping the system up until they could get the SDR in place. Their plan succeeded. It succeeded because, while they were taking political action (international agreement on the SDR), the libertarian economists were sitting back *doing nothing* and waiting for market forces to implement their view. Instead of taking political action to counter the SDR, libertarians lost the battle by default. (The best fight all along has been put up by the French Conservative Jacques Rueff, as a result of which France almost torpedoed the SDR scheme.)

"In 15 years we can expect a world in which prices rise at between 15 and 25 percent annually, and in which price and wage controls have become permanent."

Again this appeals to the libertarian-conservative prejudice. He finds it much easier to hole up in a study with his economic books than to go out in the real world and deal with people (which is what political action requires). Instead of doing what is necessary in reality, he erects a theory (the supremacy of economic power over political power) which rationalizes what he wants to do anyway (study economics).

Political power is *superior* to economic power. You can not even have economics unless the political system grants some protection to the right of private property and free exchange. *Freedom is the value upon which all other values depend. And freedom can only be secured by political means.*

VIRTUE REWARDED

It is also argued that political action is altruistic. It is for the benefit of others. It is only marginally for the benefit of one's self. The benefit to one's self from a free society is a small fraction of the total benefit to all the people. Why be the one who takes the lead and does all the work (and it is a great deal of work) when one's share in the reward is so small?

My answer to this is that I am a fundamental believer in justice. I do not believe that one has to see one's specific reward in front of one's nose in order to justify pursuing a course of action. An individual should pursue values. If one pursues values, then one will achieve values. If a person waits until the exact, specific reward is in front of his face, then he can never pursue the long range values, which are the most important values of all.

And, again, consider the primitive village. Suppose the hero in our story successfully arouses the villagers to a common defense and the attack is repelled. Will the only reward our hero receives for his efforts be the fact that his house is saved from the attackers? Common sense tells us not. He will also receive the recognition and gratitude of all of the villagers.

The materialists to the contrary, recognition and gratitude are real values and of real, practical benefit to a person in the world. (They can gain a lot of the things which money cannot buy.) But more than that, society (especially modern society) has a way of translating the spiritual values (such as recognition and gratitude) into the material values. The primitive village might give our hero 3 wives and 1000 sheep and elect him the next chief. In our modern society such leaders in a political movement are in demand for books, articles, lectures, etc. Political offices are open to them. In the long run justice will be served, and values will be achieved in proportion to values created—values in kind. The creator of economic values will get his economic reward; the creator of a more spiritual value will get a more abstract type of reward.

I have not noticed that people who take the Harry Browne line are particularly successful economically (despite the ostentatious image they put forth). In their financial dealings they are the prisoners of their own fallacies. They are continually assuming that the economic collapse they predict is just around the corner. These are the people who were very slow to turn bullish on the stock market in 1967 and very early to turn bearish in 1968 (repeat performance in 1971). Their only success has been the price of gold, this was in part due to political forces. If it had not been for the political pressure mounted by National Committee to Legalize Gold and (I like to think) Committee to Reestablish the Gold Standard, it would have been much easier for the Paul Volckers to move toward a dumping of gold on the world markets. Thus these people who put their faith in economic power are riding on *our* backs, even while they deride us.

In fact, the "Browne-outs" have a hard time being successful economically because in pursuit of their

ideology they are ignoring one crucial economic point. That is that the collapse they predict is not unitary. By their own admission it will *either* be a depression (i.e., a stoppage of paper money or a decrease in the money supply) or a runaway "inflation" (i.e., massive issues of paper money). It is a simple economic corollary of this that one cannot protect one's self from *both* of these eventualities. They are opposites with opposite economic effects. The moves to protect one's self from the depression (defensive moves: money in cash, gold stocks and bonds) are precisely the moves which leave one most vulnerable to "inflation." And the moves to protect one's self from "inflation" (real estate, highly leveraged stocks, ventures which leave one in debt) are the worst things one can do in a depression.

Thus Harry Browne can not tell us how to avoid economic catastrophe because he does not know what kind of catastrophe is coming—"inflationary" catastrophe or "deflationary" catastrophe. He does not know what kind of catastrophe is coming because *no one knows.* No one knows because the issue has not been resolved. The issue has not been resolved because it is *a political issue,* and the political forces which will resolve it are still struggling furiously in the political arena. And in that struggle the side of good desperately needs the Harry Brownes and the other economic types to get off their backs and enter the battle, not to sit on the sidelines and jeer. (And of course the evil consequences of a currency depreciation are not limited to economics. Assuming that a Harry Browne type could have avoided the economic effects of the depreciation of the German currency in 1923, would that have helped him avoid the consequence of that depreciation—the regime of Adolf Hitler?)

WRONG EMPHASIS

When I look around me, I see so many people basing their lives on what would have been a rational course of action two generations ago. I see them aspiring to careers in business oblivious to the fact that the personality traits necessary to become a business leader have changed and are now traits which they morally despise. I see them refining their talents to the point where they are so overspecialized that their career depends on some government program or government decision—so that bureaucrats they do not know and over whom they have no control determine the fate of their lives. I see them base their careers on businesses which are clearly dependent on the credit expansion and which will collapse as soon as an end is put to paper money. I see them working for big conglomerates whose only reason for existence is their ability to go into debt and which become giant, impersonal machines where ability counts for little and employees play corporate politics.

They think these things are practical (*real,* as they would say). They give some time and money to political activity, much as the average person gives to charity. But it is in the spirit of: "This is the thing which is fun; this is the moral cause in my life. I give to it for my pleasure, but it is not the serious thing which will make or break my life. It is the frosting of my life; it is not the substance."

But this is wrong. These people have built castles on sand. Their careers are not real, because freedom —the base on which they have built them—has slipped away. They are expecting their employees and customers to act like 19th century businessmen, but this is a new age where employees and customers have learned to act in accordance with the principles of paper money and a large bureaucracy. People deal with each other in terms of political pull, and ability counts for little.

"The loss of freedom is the crucial fact of our age, the fundamental change which makes the 20th century different from our grandfathers' world."

In Judea of the third century B.C. a small group of Jews made the decision to fight for freedom against the Seleucid Empire. It was a decision made on moral grounds. The people who made it could have had no practical grounds for hope because they started off with only six rebels. But the rebellion grew as fast as the Syrian attempts to put it down until it became a realistic enterprise. Some Jews joined the rebels; others made the decision to remain at peace—in subjugation. This was still a decision made on moral grounds: to fight—and risk one's life—for the moral value of freedom, or to play it safe and be practical. As in all ages there were those who chose the one and those who chose the other.

As the course of the rebellion prospered, with the rebels holed up in the hills, unassailable by the Syrian forces, these latter, in frustration, turned against the peaceful towns in the valley, ravaging them and venting their fury on their inhabitants—even though those towns were supposedly under their protection.

There is no protection for those who place themselves in the power of evil. There is no security in subjugation. It is not safe to give up one's freedom. These principles apply today as they applied 2200 years ago.

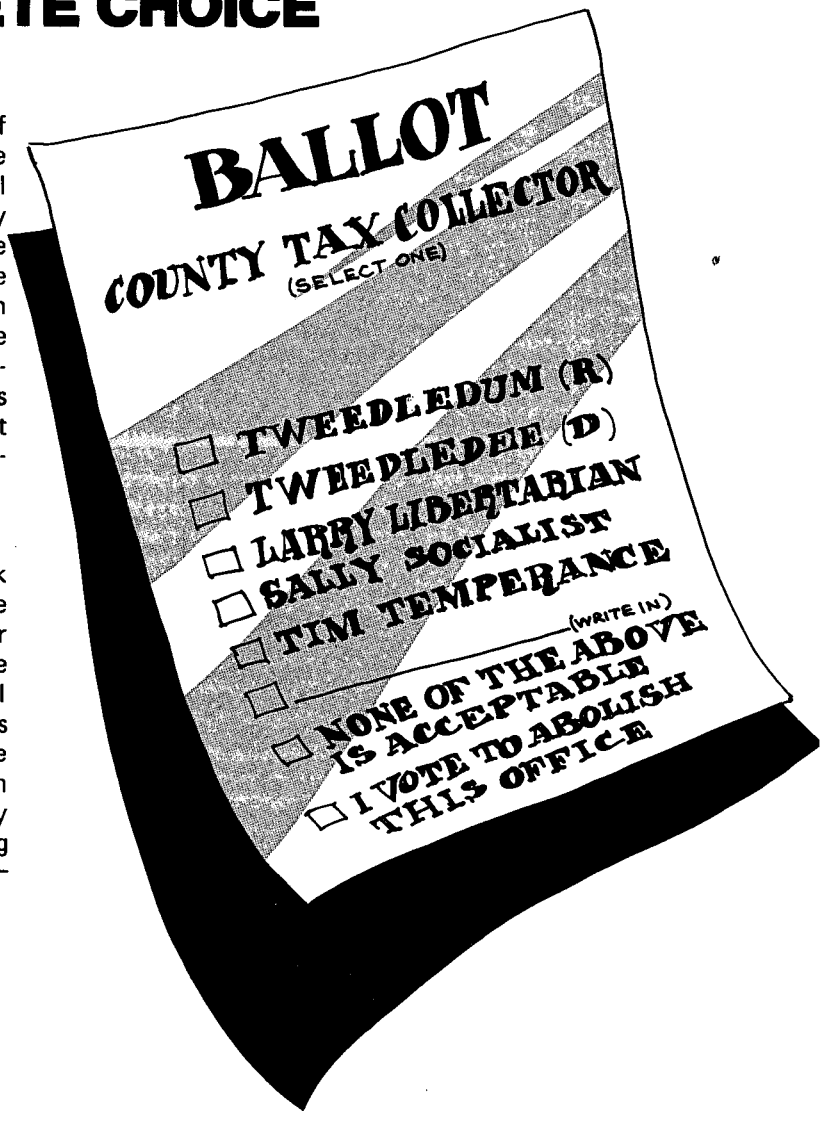
It is the struggle for freedom which is the real thing in the world today. This is the thing in your life which 20 years from now will prove to have been the important thing to do. The effort spent on your career will, at that time, prove to have been largely wasted. It is the moral which is truly practical. Harry Browne and those who follow his advice are doomed to failure. ◻

Ridgway K Foley Jr

Among the tactics for achieving liberty put forth in recent years is the idea of adding "None of the Above" to all ballots, to allow voters a chance to express their dissatisfaction with either (1) the lack of choice between the opposing candidates, or (2) their more general disgust with the whole political system. Thus far, this campaign has been only semi-serious, basically as a public relations effort. In the article which follows, however, attorney Ridgway Foley expands upon this idea as a serious tactic, developing both an intriguing proposal for reform of state election laws, and a method for implementing the proposal.

A Meaningful Franchise:

THE VOTER'S COMPLETE CHOICE



How often have you heard disgruntled members of the electorate complain that, once again, they were forced to choose between the lesser of two evils? All too often, in these days of inept and untrustworthy politicians. Most election contests offer a choice between Tweedledee and Tweedledum, or no choice at all. The miasma of political me-too-ism has been building to a crescendo in this nation since the unfortunate 1940's and offers little sign of abatement. The two major political parties appear as carbon copies of one another, and their offerings at the polls represent precious little difference in political philosophy, let alone morality.

A VOTER'S BOYCOTT?

California witnessed a partially tongue-in-cheek approach to the mee-too-ism of 1972 with the "Boters' Joycott" which took as its slogan "Vote for Sterile Hasson: He Can't Get You into Trouble." The theory bore merit; one ought to be able to say "I protest," "I will not participate in election schemes which offer me no real choice and which demean me as a human being by presenting the facade of an alternative." Moveover, most political animals today seem bent on exposing citizens to ever increasing

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taxes to support ever expanding programs designed to take ever more freedom from one segment of society and give to another, all the while feathering the nest of the taker-donor-politician. The best choice at the election booth may well be the most incompetent candidate, the one least likely to be able to think of ways to corrupt the system further.

Supporters of the voters' boycott point to the fact that American citizens stay away from the polls in droves each election day and contend that this fact demonstrates a dissatisfaction with the system or the candidates or both. Obviously, such an argument merits some dissent. It is equally probable that persons decline to vote for other reasons: ill health, incompetence to comprehend the issues of the day, disinterest, press of business, or just plain apathy. Percentage of nonvoting does not measure voter dissatisfaction; it merely describes nonvoting for whatever reason. Perhaps these disenchanted voters echoed Albert Jay Nock, who once wrote not so very long ago: "I once voted at a Presidential election. There being no real issue at stake, and neither candidate commanding any respect whatever, I cast my vote for Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. I knew Jeff was dead, but I voted on Artemus Ward's principle that if we can't have a live man who amounts to anything, by all means let's have a first-class corpse. I still think that vote was as effective as any of the millions that have been cast since then." (Albert Jay Nock, *A Journal of These Days,* pp. 73-4.)

Moreover, a voters' boycott fails to correct any wrong. So long as a sufficient number of persons, no matter how minute, decide to cast a ballot, a protest of nonvoting will produce an empty bag. The system remains; Doe gets two votes and Roe receives one; Doe wins, despite 97 nonvoters who wholly and heartily disapprove of the system, the candidates, and the lack of choice.

Protest retains its place in society. But protest must be *meaningful,* and nonvoting lacks meaning and saliency for no one can measure the effect and nature of the protest from mere abstinence. An effective protest conveys the message in clear and unmistakable terms; I protest, I disagree with the choice presented, I disavow the necessity for unnecessary laws. If a protest sounds a warning it has accomplished some effect, no matter if the scoundrels slip by for yet another term at the public trough during which they may again violate their public trust. One can always take whatever solace exists in knowing that (1) he performed a moral act and made a moral choice in a meaningful way, and (2) on another day, the educational, attractive, and persuasive effect of his act might topple an unjust system.

ELEMENTS OF COMPLETE ELECTORAL CHOICE

This essay proposes to discern and discuss the essential elements to a meaningful franchise, a complete range of choice between alternatives in the election booth. It suggests several elements which could find incorporation into the laws of the several states as examples for the Federal Government to emulate if successful. Most likely, the most efficient means of incorporation into law would be through constitutional amendment in states which possess initiative, referendum and direct legislative system recall. If a majority of the electorate in a given territory desire a complete choice, direct legisiation provides the most effective vehicle to accomplish a task which will surely not intrigue (indeed will terrify) any entrenched political figure.

(a) *Count all write-in votes.* Interestingly, and not unexpectedly, election systems are generally operated by politicians and for their benefit. While election years witness a great effort to curry favor with the voter, all too often he becomes the forgotten man of the nation even when it comes to counting the votes, if he does not cast a ballot for one of the chosen few who retain the label and favor of the major political parties. Accordingly, the first step in securing a free and open society by means of a free and open election system demands implementation into law the norm that *all* votes registered by citizens be counted and given equal publication. (Libertarians recognize the market process, whereby each individual "votes" by means of trading his created value (property), as the most efficacious means of decision-making. Nevertheless, so long as the political process remains in existence, the reforms proposed herein offer a constructive way to offer a broad range of political choice to all inhabitants.)

The concept of federalism employs states as independent units of government. It justifies this division of authority on the ground that power diffused provides power less often abused, and also upon the reason that states can act as political incubators for new and untried political ideas, ideas that may someday deserve utilization at other levels of government. Such a concept produces a concomitant effect: diversity. Thus, one cannot properly categorize all state procedures as identical. Nevertheless, a review of election laws and practices in each of the 50 states reveals that many units of government treat protest, write-in, and minor party votes most cavalierly. Ofttimes one not barnacled to the political apparatus discovers great difficulty in even finding a place on the ballot: witness the prolonged problems encountered by the American Independent Party chaired by governor George Wallace in 1968.[1] Franchise laws seldom compel election officials to count and post all write-in, protest, and minor-party votes, thus depriving the public of knowledge and educational value attached to such endeavors.

A free society truly governed by principles of justice would require that all votes, regardless of nominee, should be counted and posted with all election results. The cost of the electoral process, a topic deserving of separate attention, should be borne equally by those choosing to vote, not by their

nonvoting brothers. Presumably, election boards could deny efficacy to disfigured and disqualified ballots, but care should be taken that such limitations do not degenerate into a vehicle for excluding all votes cast outside of the political mainstream. All too often zealous officials find it tempting to treat as disfigured those ballots which contain write-in or protest votes, thus effectively disenfranchising the voters who attempted to voice their discontent with the system.

One may well complain that such a counting system will impose heavy burdens upon the election officials. Such a contention disregards the verity that the electoral process constitutes one of the very few appropriate areas of governmental service, one of the limited functions for which the state exists. Cost of a fair and accurate count and posting will be slight compared to the advantages derived from the system. Actually, the contention comes down to an official dissatisfaction with the proposed system and a favoritism for the major parties. The status quo deserves no such elevation.

"Most election contests offer a choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, or no choice at all."

Again, one may counter that counting write-in and protest votes will encourage the electorate into voting for "Mickey Mouse," "Yogi Berra," and "Stalin." True, some wags always find it humorous to endorse the names of such real or fictional characters with no intent that they be elected to office—yet who are we, or the election officials, to deny them this right? After all, isn't the franchise free and open to all who are qualified? If we are to limit entry to the ballot box to solemn, serious citizens, the rules and guidelines will be cumbersome indeed and frankly reminiscent of a police state. Moreover, entry of the name "Mickey Mouse" may reveal a deep-seated protest against the prevailing candidate or the office, perhaps more deeply felt than a predilection to vote for one's neighbor or colleagues for the same office. If an elector feels that a Walt Disney character will do just as good a job as a Supreme Court Justice as the man running (often unopposed) for the office, doesn't that tell us a great deal about the citizen mood and discontent with those in power? Finally, the mere fact that a few persons will decide to make fun of the system or the office by a humorous entry ought not bar more numerous individuals from acting, singly or collectively, to write in a real, live qualified candidate, either as a protest against the listed candidates or in an attempt to secure electoral success for the chosen one.

In sum, the enactment of a complete-choice law imposes an obligation upon the electorate to simplify and make commonly known the laws of the jurisdiction concerning write-in or protest voting, to eliminate discriminatory features against minor parties and self-generating individual candidates, and to assure that all ballots voted are counted and treated as decisive.

(b) *Ready access to the ballot.* Clarity and fairness in regard to write-in votes brings to mind a related rule: the need for ready access of all candidates to the ballot.

Again, the rules attendant upon the several states differ in degree, but most political units endorse the trend toward limitation on the ballot. This tendency appears in the pseudopolitical-scientific railing against the "bedsheet ballot" which belittles the competency of voters to pass upon myriad issues and candidates at an occasional election. Such gnashing of teeth and wailing at the wall became apparent during the 1972 general election in the state of Washington which witnessed some two dozen initiated and referred laws for the electorate to consider. Disparagement of the voter bears little relation to the facts. Most voters exhibit the competency to pass upon their own destiny, at least to the same extent as their "leaders" who decry the capabilities of the voter. Remember—the "political leader" derives from the same mass as the voter and possesses the identical traits of finiteness and fallibility. Indeed, the statesmen populating our government offices these days appear to display the worst kind of habits found in mankind, somewhat more degenerate than the belittled mass-man.

Again, the tendency reappears in restrictive regulations concerning candidates. Although too numerous to mention, many states impinge upon the right of persons to file as candidates in both primary and general elections. The laws are weighted heavily in favor of the established major parties, and against the individual candidates without affiliation or against the minor parties. Coercively graded filing fees, such as those fees imposed by Texas and struck down recently by the Supreme Court of the United States[2], may become so burdensome as to destroy essential franchise rights vaguely guaranteed by the state and national constitutions.

The Supreme Court of the United States has been increasingly cautious about exclusion of voters from an effective franchise by virtue of race, creed, or residence. Thus, a state cannot curtail voting rights by excluding blacks from a Democratic primary in a state where the Democratic nomination is tantamount to election[3]; nor can a state attempt to exclude citizens from voting by intricate "grandfather clauses" and a maze of literacy tests which can be manipulated to disqualify otherwise competent voters[4]; nor can the state exclude a class of voters for gerrymandering[5]. The "one man, one vote" politi-

cal decisions represent the apogee of this philosophy.[6]

Courts have been somewhat less aware of the fundamental right to access to the ballot as well as to the polling booth. Thus a wave of restrictions exist which stultify and impede candidacies of qualified persons. The right to vote exists in the worst of police states in the 20th century—witness Soviet Union political elections—yet that right means nothing if the law denies the electorate a wide spectrum of candidates.

One concomitant issue deserves consideration—the plague of the "get-out-the-vote" campaigns. In a free society, no one would deny the right of independent, voluntary action to induce persons to register and vote. Persuasion ranks high in a market system, be it a market for products or for ideas. But, the state has no business inducing otherwise disinterested persons to vote by persuasion or force. Mandatory ballots do not belong in an open society, for the right to choose includes the right not to choose. Moreover, those who decline to vote often do so because of apathy or disinclination for whatever reason. An apathetic person is not likely to cast a reasoned ballot and too often he will be swayed by the demagogue who promises bread and circuses funded by robbing those who cannot defend themselves (with a healthy cut of the swag for himself).

(c) *An effective formal protest vote.* In addition to adequate space for write-in ballots under each office, the voters' complete choice norm requires a means of casting a formal protest vote. At least one additional line should be added to each ballot under each position to be filled, bearing a legend "None of the Above Is Acceptable," "Neither of the Above Is Acceptable" or some similar statement. Thus, an elector who desires to vote and not forego his franchise, who desires not to write in a specific name for the office, and who desires to register a protest against the listed organizational candidates thrust upon him ought to be able to have his choice formally counted. For most of us, exercise of the franchise constitutes one of the most serious chores obligatory upon a citizen; we hate to waste our ballot upon unqualified and unlovely individuals, on the lesser of two evils (the lesser of two evils is still evil), or upon a blank line. We should not be compelled to pull a name out of the air as qualified for the position, particularly in the situation where some esoteric political offices need specific talents and constitutional requirements which we may not know, or which may or may not attach to the write-in candidate of our choice. The immediate and salutary effect of this change in the law will be to immensely improve the quality and character of candidates offered to the public by both major and all minor political parties. Hacks will be deterred because neither Republican nor Democrat will wish to run a race where the Protest Line secures a large number of votes.

Furthermore, such a rule will improve the calibre of candidates for nonpartisan elective offices. Often positions find incumbents running unopposed, as demonstrated by the normal race for judicial positions. Now, the unopposed incumbent has a very real shadow over his shoulder: he runs against his record, somewhat akin to the so-called Missouri system. But, better than the Missouri system, the complete choice eases the means by which additional candidates can gain ballot consideration, either by listing or by running as write-in candidates. In the simple Missouri system, the candidate runs against his record, with no chance of live opposition. We all recognize that the most devastating weapon for improvement of candidates are other qualified candidates for the same position, candidates who hold divergent political and social views.

"The best choice at the election booth may well be the most incompetent candidate, the one least likely to be able to think of ways to corrupt the system further."

The mere addition of a protest line to the ballot performs no function other than solacing the disgruntled resident of the state unless the protest votes carry weight. Now we'll consider ways of making a protest *effective.*

(d) *An effective abolition vote.* To this point we have printed a ballot with the following elements: listing (with ease of access) of all declared candidates who meet minimum requirements; addition of a line or lines for write-in votes; addition of a formal protest line where one may indicate that all candidates listed are "unacceptable." One further ingredient provides greater range to the alternatives offered to the voter: an effective abolition vote, whereby the elector can register not mere dissatisfaction with the officeholders seeking election but with the concept of the office itself. If I do not believe that a county assessor performs a viable governmental function, I ought, at each election where the office appears on the ballot, to be able to register my disdain and effectively suggest that the office be vacated and the functions discontinued or returned to the free market. The law should afford further protection to the voter by permitting him to refuse to vote for one or no offices at all, and by providing that such a refusal shall not affect the outcome. In other words, an appropriate franchise must countenance abstention.

Immediate reaction to the abolition vote will stress the argument that such power in the people might destroy government. If the majority of the individuals

in a given territory really do decide that they should live without a formal government (not a likelihood in this day and age), why should a minority forcefully hinder that choice? After all, we have been told since childhood that majority rule constitutes the real thing, the essence of the democratic system. If it does reveal seminal values, then shouldn't the electorate be able to judge the very system and its continued existence by use of this tool?

More likely, the use of the abolition vote will appear as a threat to the currently untrammeled power of "statesmen" to seek election on a platform of pious hopes and pipe dreams and then to gull and savage the electorate to their own advantage for several years. With the ever-present threat of abolition of an office rides the certainty that the occupant of the office will be somewhat more circumspect in his attitude and behavior, and somewhat more attentive to the affairs of the day and the wishes of the people.

"The laws are weighted heavily in favor of the established major parties and against the individual candidate without affiliation or the minor party."

Further, the abolition ballot will encourage selective discontinuance of government functions which are outmoded, outdated, obsolete and unnecessary. In some areas police functions are performed by overlapping units, as where a county and a metropolitan police force occupy the same territory. Usually one could do without the county sheriff or the city police chief and erasure of one office might lighten the tax burden on the citizenry. The scalpel wielded by this means will cut dead weight from officialdom in similar manner to the peoples' power exercised by the ballot concerning tax increases and quasi-municipal government budgets. Time and again electors have voted down school and sewer district budgets inflated beyond reality and thus returned a measure of fiscal sanity to local government. The abolition line will provide an effective counterpart at the candidate level.

THE KEY: AN EFFECTIVE VOTE

The key to success of the formal protest vote and the abolition vote lies in its effectiveness. Effectiveness will be achieved only if there is a sanction attached to the result of a sufficient number of votes in either or both categories.

(a) *The sanction in the abolition vote.* The abolition vote gains effectiveness from the obvious sanction explained before: discouraging rampages by elected officials and encouraging selective removal of governmental functions from the public sector and returning them to the private sector.

The threat conveys the message here. If a majority of all electors cast ballots favoring abolition of a position then that position must be discontinued. The requirement protecting the system against willy-nilly destruction is the necessity for a *majority of all votes cast* in the election (the protest vote, the write-in vote, the votes for listed candidates, and the abolition votes). If the electorate thus favors repeal of the office, no one should countenance continuance.

Consider the obvious argument against: the abolition vote unravels the constitutional fabric of the nation. Nonsense! If we favor majoritarianism, then the absolute majority of all who care to vote may excise any office at any time. After all, the right to revolution is retained explicitly or implicitly in many state constitutions, simply because the United States of America was formed by revolution against an overbearing foreign authority. For example, Article I, Section 1, Oregon Constitution, declares:

> Section 1. *Natural Rights Inherent in People.* We declare that all men, when they form a social compact are equal in right: that all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness; *and they have at all times a right to alter, reform, or abolish the government in such manner as they may think proper.* [Emphasis supplied.]

The New Hampshire Constitution, Part I, Article 10 (Right of Revolution) declares in like vein:

> Government being instituted for the common benefit, protection and security, of the whole community, and not for the private interest or emolument of any one man, family, or class of men; therefore, whenever the ends of government are perverted, the public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought to reform the old, or establish a new government. A doctrine of non-existance against arbitrary power, and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind.

Historical fact informs us of the unlikelihood that any elected official will concede the uselessness of his own office, nor will he desire to incur the wrath of fellow officeholders by suggesting that their offices perform no useful function. Therefore, if the increase of government intrusion into our lives is to be discouraged and arrested, it must be accomplished by the people acting in concert, exerting the fundamental right to limit the state to its proper function: administration of common justice, and the prevention of force and fraud.

Those who assert the Constitution as a defense against the abolition vote concept misread history and that document. The mere fact that some person or group in centuries past dictated a form does not endow that form with lasting value. That which has value must be measured in relation to the people it serves. What has value at one point in time may lack it in other days. We can learn from the past but must not be enslaved by ancient ideas lacking content. Can one really accept the premise that because a state constitution enacted by fallible men in 1859 determined that the state required a superintendent of public instruction to be elected by popular vote, that in 1974 citizens of that state, unborn at the time of the constitution, are bound forever to such an office and cannot abolish it by popular ballot?

The opponent might retort that constitutions provide methods for amendment, and laws can be altered by legislative assemblies. True, but not decisive. Amendment procedures normally are cumbersome things, hedged about in favor of the status quo and the existing political apparatus. The same rebuke applies to laws; anyone vaguely interested in civics will recognize the recent difficulty (and eventual failure) in dismantling the Office of Economic Opportunity, a most useless boondoggle. Once an office comes into existence, it displays a very dogged tendency to stay in existence—nay, fight for its very life like a threatened soul—unless the electorate takes a hand to cut it adrift. Surely, no fair-minded person can oppose populism, placing the ultimate power to govern in the hands of the governed, and that is precisely what the addition of an abolition vote line does to the franchise. The mere fact that the electorate may have another means of accomplishing the same end (amendment, repeal of laws) should not destroy the efficacy of the system which encourages maximum use of the franchise.

(b) *The sanction in the protest vote.* An effective protest vote demands less obvious sanctions and greater insight into the nature of political man. The mere addition of a protest line to the ballot adds little but emotional solace to the protesting voter.

Initially, a protest vote must be *counted,* and it must count for something. Like a write-in vote, a protest vote must be granted identical official publicity when the results of the election are published.

Secondly, the protest vote must be able to affect the outcome of an election if sufficient quantities are cast. Let us ponder the possible results under the proposed system and generate a few basic rules:

(1) If the abolition vote line receives the majority of all votes cast for the office (votes for listed candidates, votes for write-in candidates, votes for abolition, and votes for protest), the state must abolish the office and it will stand vacant until the office is recreated by the people at a regular election.

COMMITTEE TO ESTABLISH THE GOLD STANDARD

Monetary Anarchy

The gold standard holds a unique place among libertarian issues; a return to the gold standard (as opposed to mere legalization of gold ownership) would not only secure us a highly valued bit of freedom in itself; it would also set the stage for the rollback of statism on a great many other fronts.

Paper money and statism.

A study of history shows that periods of a *depreciating paper currency* (popularly known as "inflation") are always periods of *increasing government control* over the individual. With astonishing regularity currency depreciation correlates with conscription laws, increased government spending, foreign exchange controls, rationing, the growth of bureaucracy and other statist measures. A present day return to the gold standard would force a cut in the budget and thus lead to a reduction in spending. It would also obviate the "need" for price and wage controls. More important, if the country were on the gold standard, then the budget would have to be balanced; the conservatives could relax their fear that a tax cut would lead to a big deficit, and we would have their support for any tax reduction movements.

Two Keynesian parties.

In the 1950's the Republican Party stood for a balanced budget. But in 1970 Richard Nixon announced that he was a Keynesian and met with not a murmur of protest from conservatives. It was difficult to believe, but that was the effective conversion of the Republican Party to the Keynesian philosophy. Now that both political parties are Keynesian they will have to compete with each other to see who can have the biggest budget deficit. The $30 billion deficit of fiscal 1972 was the first example of this new philosophy.

Abolish the legal tender law.

With two Keynesian parties and no tie at all to gold it is clear that the U.S. faces a period of rampant depreciation of its currency—unless political opposition to this depreciation is formed. The Committee to Establish the Gold Standard intends to provide this opposition in its most fundamental form. We are not content to hold the money supply to a fixed rate of growth; we are not content to advocate a balance budget; those are half-way measures. Now that gold ownership has been legalized we demand *abolition of the legal tender laws by virtue of which pieces of paper are declared to be money.*

The conservative approach to the gold standard is to have the government fix the price of gold. But *our* approach to the gold standard is to *get the government out of the area of money.* Abolish the legal tender law, and paper money will fall of its own lack of value; the free market will then—as it has for centuries—establish gold as the medium of exchange. We are advocates of monetary anarchy.

We have affiliates working for the gold standard throughout the United States. Each affiliate works in his local area using us as a central clearing house and receiving our monthly magazine *The Gold Bug* (6-8 pages) for information, articles and current political developments. (Those too busy to work actively may, at a higher cost, subscribe to *The Gold Bug* to follow our activities.) We are presenting a challenge to statism in our time, and we ask you to join us in this enterprise. Affiliates, $5; subscribers, $10.

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(2) If a listed candidate or a write-in candidate receives an absolute majority of all votes cast for the office, the result will follow as now: that person will be deemed elected to hold office for the specified term.

(3) If a listed candidate or a write-in candidate gains a plurality of all votes cast, but not a majority, or if the protest vote line or the abolition line receives a plurality of all votes cast, but not a majority, the present rule would declare the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes the winner. Such a norm denies efficacy to the protest and abolition votes which manifest discontent with the candidates, the office, or both. Therefore, in order to grant effect to the discontented voters, a different rule should apply.

A better decision would be to treat the election as void, place the burden of filling the office during the interim between the present election and the next general election upon an appointing committee, and ascertain that the interim appointee cannot use his service as a power base for satisfying personal ambition in the political realm.

"The right to vote exists in the worst police states–yet that right means nothing if the law denies the electorate a wide spectrum of candidates."

Avoidance of the election does not force vacancy in the office nor hinderance of governmental functioning. The law should declare an election without a majority void merely to assure that all protest and abolition votes receive some weight and that no undesirable candidate receives more than his due; if a candidate cannot poll more than an absolute majority of all votes cast, he does not merit election and the wages of his office.

Once electorally voided, the office appears empty. One possible solution would provide that that condition continue. However, such a result appears disadvantageous where the majority did not vote to abolish the office. *De facto* abolition of the office, at least on a temporary basis, would result, thereby weighting the abolition vote more heavily than justified. Moreover, one cannot assume that protest voters intended that the office become and remain vacant; a protest vote merely indicates a disinclination to vote for the available candidates.

Another possible solution would reward an ineffective and unworthy candidate by granting the winner of a plurality the office. As suggested, such a solution belittles the protest and abolition votes.

Still another possible solution would force a second election. Cost and efficiency in government militate against this offer. All too often, redundant elections take place in matters affecting measures such as tax bases or bond issues; ordinarily, the electorate votes down a money issue, and the political apparatus—those who favor the passage of money bills normally control the electoral processes—continues to call special election after special election until finally the taxpayer-voter is weakened into acceptance of the proposal.[7] Repeated elections accomplish the purposes of the proponents of an issue, but cost the taxpayers a great deal of money without a fair result. Once an election receives final determination, the result should stand for a period of at least two years without interference. A general election every two years harmonizes with common practice in the United States, accords with good sense and allows stability to government without needless interruptions.

Assuming rejection of the solutions offered, and assuming that the office ought to be filled in the interim period of two years until the next general election, recourse to the appointive process requires consideration. Normally the state and Federal constitutions provide the means by which an elective office shall be filled in the case of vacancy by death, disqualification, or resignation. Ordinarily, appointments become political, tinged with the philosophy of the appointing officer, often with little in the way of checks and balances. If the appointment requires the concurrence of another official or body (e.g., appointment of Federal judges by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate), the recent past bears witness to the political manipulations which transpire, particularly when the appointing official maintains affiliation with one major political party and the acquiescing body is predominantly controlled by the opposition. The public loses, being treated in the ordinary case to political hacks capable primarily of looting the populace and the public treasury for their own benefit. Any time a person spends 30 years in public service, entering as a penniless drifter and emerging as a millionaire 25 times over, one wonders at the purpose and place of public officials in the scheme of things.

Imbued with the belief that control ought to reside as closely as possible with the voters-citizens, let us opt for placement of the appointive process at the lowest level of elective office: the precinct workers. Any vacancy ought to be filled by majority vote of a convention of all precinct committeemen and committeewomen of each party, two persons from each party from each precinct within the unit from which the vacant office is chosen.

Clearly, one could think of occasions when some of the precinct offices will be vacant because of death, disability, lack of candidates, or because the voters voted to protest or to abolish the precinct

office. However, one cannot conjecture a situation where *all* such offices in the county, district, city or state would be vacant at the same time.

Again, an objective observer might also claim that voting will emerge along party lines, but that supplies no answer because the taint of political favoritism will certainly appear no greater at the precinct level than from the governor's chair. By and large, the precinct people will recognize the mood of their constituents and fulfill their duty in a fair and meaningful manner.

Eligibility for the vacant office forms another salient issue. The precinct convention ought to be free to choose from the entire array of eligible individuals existent in the district or unit. The convention may, if it desires, choose the next ranking subordinate official, if any, to discharge the duties of the office in an acting capacity, at no increase from his former remuneration, until the next general election only. Thus, staff persons from the state treasurer's office or the county commission could assume the job for two years while receiving salary based on their staff positions.

Further, the convention could appoint the candidate receiving the plurality of the vote for that office to serve for the limited period until the next general election. Since rewarding losers politically seems odious, the law ought to prohibit one who did not receive a plurality from taking the office.

In the absence of the two choices suggested, the convention could appoint any competent, qualified person to serve in the office until the next general election.

No matter who the convention appoints to carry out the duties and functions of an erstwhile vacant office, the abolition and protest voters will not be effectively franchised unless something prevents the use of an appointive office as a stepping stone to increased power, patronage, and prestige. In some instances, effective deterrence will result from the two-year limitation on the office. In others, reality demands greater controls. For this reason, the appointee must be barred from succeeding himself in *that particular office* for a period of four years, and must receive no increase in salary or powers during his interim term. One might consider prohibiting such an interim appointee from seeking *any* political office for four years, but such a limitation appears unduly onerous and likely to deter qualified public servants. Four years seem to represent an ideal limitation period, for it does not unduly hamper political plans yet it does effectively limit use of the office as a mere steppingstone to further political officeholding.

(c) *Primary elections.* Primary elections pose special problems, but not insurmountable ones.

In regard to the abolition vote line, it could appear on the ballot in primary elections but couldn't be effective in those states where voters not registered in the major political parties are effectively disenfranchised, for such voters would not be given a choice on

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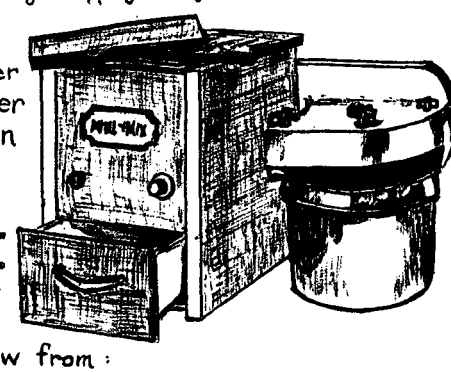

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continuance or discontinuance of the office. Moreover, where voters can cross over party lines in a primary, a distortion might result, with Democrats voting in the Republican primary to abolish an office. Therefore, the abolition vote should be discarded during primary campaigns.

On the other hand, the protest vote ought to remain on the primary ballot: easy access to the electorate, the right to write-in candidate choices, and the right to protest all stay viable during a primary election.

One might conjure up the vision of a primary campaign where several candidates seek the same office and a majority appears unlikely. In such a case, the party precinct people should choose the candidate to represent the party at the polls. Any disgruntled also-rans could seek election during the general election as independents or write-in choices. If the party nominees offered to the party voters during the primary elections do not sway the elector-

"The 'abolition ballot' will encourage discontinuance of government functions which are outmoded, outdated, obsolete, and unnecessary."

ate, the protest vote becomes the most powerful weapon to encourage the presentation of good, sound offerings. A strong candidate will win an absolute majority; a weak candidate ought to at least face his precinct people before he can represent the party in the general election.

(d) *Multiple-candidate contests.* Multiple-candidate districts present an interesting, if academic, twist to the problem (academic because of the trend toward single-member districts). In such a situation, the protest vote will not impede elections if the total votes cast are divided by the number of positions in order to determine a majority, and if the protest and abolition votes are multiplied by the number of vacancies to be filled. The identical rules should then apply as in elections with the single-member districts.

Presumably, enactment of these proposed reforms will satisfy members of at least one active organization offering truly creative thinking in this area, the League of Non-Voters. These advocates decry the lack of complete range of choice in the polling place and suggest abstinence from voting until curative measures rectify that omission. The plan proposed tenders just such a cure.

The initiative process remains the sole effective means of attaining a place on the ballot for persons to consider and vote upon a fair choice amendment to the respective state constitutions. One can hardly expect elected officials with their vested interest in re-election, or government employees with their positions to maintain, to introduce, support, or lobby for such radical legislation, yet referral to the people forces just such action.

Indeed, experience demonstrates that the establishment politician will combat any attempt (such as that embodied in Appendix A) with all the force and guile at his disposal. [An exception to the rule, California Assemblyman William Campbell (R-Whittier) recently introduced a bill to put "None of the Above" on the ballot. He doesn't expect it to get out of committee.—Ed.] This prospect should encourage proponents of a complete choice amendment to take scrupulous care in following every nuance of the election laws attendant upon each particular state, not to mention the absolute need to plan the campaign with care and to fund the endeavor with the firm expectation that tedious and time-consuming litigation will result as the threatened statists unveil all manner of armor in defense of the status quo.

Different time tables apply to different states. The Oregon research organization[8] anticipates an appearance of the initiative on the 1976 general election ballot. Hopefully, other states will join our throng and will labor to coincide with that time table. What a way to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence: declare independence from restrictive political rules and entrenched party control of the state!

CONCLUSION

Open access to the ballot, free opportunity to write in the names of desirable candidates, and a chance to protest or to abolish the office coalesce to offer the beleaguered electorate a much better choice in the polling booth than he presently encounters. The voter's complete choice presents a meaningful franchise. ◻

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] See, e.g., *Williams* v. *Rhodes,* 393 U.S. 23, 89 S. Ct. 5, 21 L. Ed.2d (1968).
[2] See, *Bullock* v. *Carter,* 405 U.S. 134, 92 S. Ct. 849, 31 L. Ed.2d 92 (1972).
[3] *Smith* v. *Allwright,* 321 U.S. 649, 64 S. Ct. 757, 88 L. Ed. 987 (1944).
[4] *Lane* v. *Wilson,* 307 U.S. 268, 59 S. Ct. 872, 83 L. Ed. 1281 (1939).
[5] *Gomillion* v. *Lightfoot,* 364 U.S. 339, 81 S. Ct. 125, 5 L. Ed.2d 110 (1960).
[6] See, *Baker* v. *Carr,* 369 U.S. 186, 82 S. Ct. 691, 7 L. Ed.2d 663 (1962).
[7] The uncommon and dishonest pressures which are applied to passage of such measures merit a separate investigation and discussion. One might consider whether the political apparatus ought to be controlled by the proponents of given issues and of an identical ideology.
[8] Research Committee For A Fair Choice, P.O. Box 1649 Federal Station, Portland, Oregon 97207. Attention: G. B. Leitch.

APPENDIX A

DRAFT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR THE VOTER'S COMPLETE CHOICE

TITLE: *The Voter's Complete Choice Amendment:* An effort to encourage an improved quality of candidates offered to the electorate by providing voters an opportunity to disapprove of all candidates for an office and by requiring that all votes cast shall be counted in determining the outcome of an election to fill public office.

AMENDMENT TO THE (State) CONSTITUTION, ARTICLE (number), SECTION (number), CONCERNING SUFFRAGE AND ELECTIONS.

Be it enacted by the People of the State of (state):

Sec. 1 (State) Constitution, Article (number), shall be deleted, and in its stead the people enact the following sections of this Constitutional Amendment.

Sec. 2 *Election by majority required; election officials required to count all ballots cast for office in determining majority.*

The following rules shall be utilized to establish an effective mode of registering and implementing the voter's complete choice in all (state) elections:

(A) Every qualified elector-resident in his precinct and registered as required by law, may, but need not, cast one vote under the title for each office.

(B) In all general elections for public office authorized by this Constitution and held within this state, each title shall contain the following lines: (1) one line for each registered, listed candidate, (2) one line for unlisted, unregistered, or "write-in" candidates for each position to be filled, (3) one line bearing the legend "I vote to abolish this office," to be referred to as the "abolition line," and (4) one line bearing the legend "None of the above is acceptable," to be referred to as the "protest line."

(C) In all primary elections, each contest for public office shall contain all of the lines designated in Section 2(B) except the abolition line.

(D) In all elections for public office authorized by this Constitution, the election official in charge of counting, tabulating, and posting election results shall cause all ballots for each office to be counted, tabulated, and posted, including all ballots indicating a preference for a listed candidate, all ballots indicating a preference for an unlisted candidate, all ballots voting to abolish the office, and all ballots casting a protest vote.

(E) No person shall be declared elected to any public office authorized by this Constitution unless that person shall receive a majority of all votes cast, counted, and tabulated under Section 2(D). The term "majority" as used in this Constitutional Amendment shall mean more than one-half of the total of all ballots marked for listed and unlisted candidates, for abolition of the office, and in protest, but not including ballots which do not mark one of the lines indicated.

(F) In the event that more than one person shall be offered to the electorate in multiple-candidate political districts, the majority shall be determined by division of the number of candidate positions to be filled into the total ballots cast, with weight given to the abolition line and the protest line by multiplying those votes by the number of candidate positions.

(G) If an eligible candidate shall receive a majority of the votes cast for a public office, he shall be declared the officeholder for the specified term of office.

Sec. 3 *Abolition of office on majority vote.*

In the event that the majority of ballots marked and cast for a particular position shall vote for abolition of that office, such abolition shall take place immediately, and the office shall remain abolished until a majority of voters vote to reestablish it at a general election at least two years subsequent to abolition.

Sec. 4 *Election void where no candidate receives majority.*

The following rules shall govern the status of elective offices where no listed or unlisted candidate receives a majority of the votes cast: (A) in the event that a majority of the qualified electors shall cast protest votes, or in the event that no listed or unlisted candidate shall receive a majority of the votes cast and tabulated, the election shall be declared void and of no effect, and the vacancy thus created shall be brought to the attention of the convention described in Section 4(B).

(B) In the event that an election be declared void as described in Section 4(A), the Chief Executive Officer of the state shall convene a convention comprised of all duly elected precinct committeemen and precinct committeewomen of the governmental unit in which the voters for the vacant office reside, said convention being limited to two votes per precinct per qualified political party. The convention shall be convened no later than the second Monday following the declaration that the election is void. The convention shall elect a temporary chairman, a recording secretary, and a tally clerk, and shall conduct its business (which shall be limited to the appointment of an officer or officers as prescribed in this provision in accordance with the Constitution) pursuant to accepted parliamentary rules. It shall disband immediately upon completion of such business and acceptance of the appointment or appointments by the appointees.

(C) In the event that the election declared void occurs during a primary election contest, the convention shall be comprised solely of precinct committeemen and precinct committeewomen elected by the political party in which the void takes place.

(D) If an election be deemed void and a convention called as provided by this provision, the convention shall act in the following manner concerning the unfilled office:

(1) the next ranking subordinate official, if any, may be appointed to discharge the duties of the office in an acting capacity, at no increase from his former remuneration, until the next general election only;

(2) the candidate receiving a plurality of the vote for the office may be appointed to serve until the next general election only, but no other candidate for that office shall be chosen;

(3) any competent, qualified person may be appointed to serve until the next general election only.

(E) Where an appointment is made pursuant to this section, the appointee shall not become a candidate to succeed himself in that office in any subsequent election for a period of four years, and shall receive no increase in remuneration or powers during his appointed term of office.

(F) The provisions of this Constitutional Amendment repeal and override any law, statute, or custom that an officeholder shall hold office until his successor is elected and duly qualified.

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Many people once scoffed at the idea of food shortages in America. They underestimated the destructive potential of big government.

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CDC Survival Foods offers an expertly designed low-moisture food supply, eliminating the guesswork on what to store. The low-moisture method includes dehydrating or freeze-drying the food and packing it in cans in which the oxygen has been replaced with an inert gas before sealing. This method prevents the growth of bacteria (such as botulism), assuring your family's safety. The long shelf-life (up to 15 years or more on most items) allows storage for emergency use. Open cans will not spoil for several months (over a year on most items), allowing full use of the contents.

Our Modular Yearly Supply, costing only $399, is an eleven case unit, PLUS 150 pounds of whole kernel wheat (in three bags, which may be omitted at a $17 price reduction). Each case contains 6 enamelled #10 cans (a #10 can is slightly less than a gallon). Total weight of the supply (including wheat) is approximately 400 pounds, and *all* items, including the wheat, are long lasting. (Whole kernel wheat has been found to be completely usable even after 20 years of storage.) If you prefer long storage flour, you may select 30 cans (5 cases) of whole wheat or white flour to replace the bags of wheat, bringing your yearly supply to 16 cases at a cost of $449.

This unit provides more in food content than more expensive supplies offered by some competitors, which are packed in 16 cases. Our supply is equal to *18* cases of competing supplies, as our 2 cases of high yield milk is equal to 4 cases of instant milk included in supplies offered by most of our competitors. We provide extra protein and essential fats lacking in most other supplies.

Our supply (wheat included) is sufficient for one person for 12 months. No other supply on the market provides as much nutrition for this price. The nearest comparable supplies cost over $100 more. Yet our supply is high in protein (see contents next column) and also contain essential fats, cooking aids, and supplements usually missing in competing supplies. The Modular Yearly Supply includes three outstanding books: PASSPORT TO SURVIVAL, and two special cookbooks.

A stone grinder, costing only $43 (including shipping) is available. The higher nutrition of freshly ground whole wheat flour more than makes up for the small amount of work involved in grinding the wheat.

Five optional cases, as well as individual items, are available to provide extra variety.

We provide more and better food for lower cost in our Modular Yearly Supply than competing units claimed to be sufficient for 15 months. *Compare for proof.* Comparison charts with all major suppliers available on request.

If you think you do prefer a competing supply, call us collect and ask us for a bid on an *identical* supply before you buy. We are confident we will save you money. We carry items identical or better than those of our competitors, and at lower cost. In addition, we carry many items totally lacking in other supplies. We are sure that when you compare, you will prefer our Modular Yearly Supply over any competition.

CONTENTS OF MODULAR YEARLY SUPPLY

FRUITS: After reconstitution with water, equal to about 100 lbs. of fresh fruits, providing about 500 three ounce servings. 6 #10 cans.

VEGETABLES: After reconstitution, equal to about 220 lbs. of fresh vegetables, providing about 400 four ounce servings. 9 #10 cans.

TEXTURED VEGETABLE PROTEIN: A meat flavored and textured meat substitute, equal to about 86 lbs. of lean meat. 10 #10 cans.

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OTHER PROTEIN ITEMS: 96 half-ounce servings of peanut butter; 57 four ounce servings of baby lima beans; 57 four ounce servings of green split peas. 3 #10 cans.

GRAINS: Sufficient whole kernel wheat to provide 200 lbs. of rich wholesome bread or other wheat item. Also 186 servings of rice; 105 of Cereal, Fruit & Nut; 84 of rolled oats; based on 4 oz. servings. 8 #10 cans, 3 50 lb. bags.

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SUGAR: 10 lbs. of brown sugar and 12 lbs. of white sugar. 4 #10 cans.

SUPPLEMENTS: A sufficient year's supply of salt, yeast, baking powder, baking soda, and beef soup base. 4 #10 cans; 1 #3 can.

BOOKS: PASSPORT TO SURVIVAL, and two special cookbooks.

Substitutions are often available. **Prices subject to change without notice.**

See Order Form for contents of Optional Cases.

IMPORTANT NOTICE: Many persons wanting "Food Insurance" have asked if our supplies are available on credit. We do not encourage customers to become more in debt, but food is more essential to survival than any other item. Therefore we have made arrangements with Master Charge, Bank-Americard, and a nation-wide financial institution to enable *time payments for qualified persons.* Contact us for full information.

COIN INVESTMENTS: Our emphasis here on food is not intended to downgrade the importance of gold and silver coins. The dollar can be expected to go the way of the German Mark in 1923. Worsening monetary conditions are probably coming, and it is not too late to begin or enlarge a supply of *real money – gold and silver coins.*

We offer low premium coins through our subsidiary Nevada Coin Exchange. Prices vary substantially each day. Call us for the latest prices. We will give you a quotation which will hold for 3 or 4 days until your check arrives. Fully insured coin shipping paid by us.

We do not offer credit or storage on coin purchases. Coins sent upon receipt of payment.

FULL GUARANTEE: If unsatisfied, U. S. customers may return coins and/or food ordered within ten days for a complete refund of purchase price.

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The following table lists the number of #10 cans, except as noted. There are only minor variances in weights between cans of identical items.

	S** A***	CDC
PROTEIN:	1 Beef TVP*	4 Beef TVP
	1 Chicken TVP	2 Chicken TVP
	1 Red Beans	2 Ham TVP
	1 White Beans	2 Plain TVP
	1 Lima Beans	1 Lima Beans
	1 Split Peas	1 Split Peas
	3 Egg Mix	2 Egg Mix
		1 Peanut Butter
		1 Cheddar Cheese
	9 Cans	16 Cans
(*TVP = Textured Vegetable Protein, Soy Based Meat Substitute)		
FRUITS:	2 Apple Slices	1 Apple Nuggets
	1 Apricot	2 Fruit Mix
	1 Peaches	1 Peaches
	1 Prunes	1 Banana Slices
	1 Raisins	1 Raisins
	6 Cans	6 Cans
VEGETABLES:	2 Carrots	1 Carrots
	2 Corn	1 Green Beans
	2 Peas	1 Peas
	2 Tomato Crystals	1 Tomato Crystals
	1 Celery	1 Stew Blend
	1 Spinach	1 Soup Blend
	1 Cabbage	1 Cabbage
	1 Mashed Potatoes	2 Mashed Potatoes
	12 Cans	9 Cans
GRAINS:	3 Rice	2 Rice
	2 Grainola	2 Cereal, Fruit, and Nut
	2 Rolled Oats	2 Rolled Oats
	2 Macaroni	1 Macaroni
	1 Cornmeal	1 Cornmeal
	10 Cans	8 Cans
GRAINS:	24 White Flour (100 lbs.)	3 bags (50 lbs. each) of
	6 Cracked Wheat (27 lbs.)	Whole Kernel Wheat
	127 lbs.	150 lbs.
FATS:	None	3 Margarine
		3 Shortening
		6 Cans
SUGAR:	None	2 Brown Sugar
		2 White Sugar
		4 Cans
SUPPLEMENTS:	2 Gelatin	1 Salt
		1 Baking Powder
		1 Baking Soda
		1 Beef Soup Base
		1 Active Dry Yeast (about a #3 size can)
	2 Cans	5 Cans
MILK:	24 INSTANT powdered milk (51 lbs.)	12 REGULAR powdered milk (48 lbs.)

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Modular Yearly Supply without wheat	$382	____	____
Modular Yearly Supply with 30 cans white or whole wheat flour	$449	____	____
Stone Grain Grinder	$ 43	____	____
PCP Water Purifier (good for up to 1500 gallons)	$ 39	____	____

FIVE OPTIONAL CASES:		QTY.	AMOUNT
Case K - 1 Gelatin, Citrus Flavor; 1 Gelatin, Fruit Flavor; 1 Tapioca; 1 Dessert Filling Mix; 1 Milk Shake Mix; 1 Egg Custard	$41.70	____	____
Case L - 1 Yam Flakes; 2 Granulated Potatoes; 1 Diced Potatoes; 2 Mixed Vegetable Soup	$30.75	____	____
Case M - 1 Corn; 1 Spinach; 1 Celery; 1 Onions; 1 Carrots; 1 Stew Blend	$39.45	____	____
Case N - 1 Date Dices; 1 Fruit Cocktail; 1 Peach Slices; 1 Prunes; 1 Raisins; 1 Banana Slices	$47.65	____	____
Case O - 1 Shortening; 1 Margarine; 1 Butter; 1 Sour Cream; 2 Eggs, whole or scrambling	$54.80	____	____

TOTAL ORDER_____

editorial

VOTER INDEPENDENCE AND THE "DUTY TO VOTE" MYTH

"What is any political campaign save a concerted effort to turn out a set of politicians who are admittedly bad and put in a set who are thought to be better? The former assumption, I believe, is always sound; the latter is just as certainly false."—**H. L. Mencken**

Many Americans adhere to the notion that there is a duty to vote for political candidates, and that even if the choices are undesirable, one should at least vote for the "lesser of two evils" rather than "waste" a vote by voting for a minority party candidate or by not voting at all. This deeply ingrained assumption is mistaken and is inherently dangerous. Although certain totalitarian governments require citizens to vote, what justification can there be in a free society for imposing a duty on individuals to vote? The notion of such a duty is plainly repugnant to political freedom.

The insidious effects of voting for the lesser of two evils and selecting a major candidate merely out of a mistaken sense of "duty" are twofold: It not only helps elect a candidate that voters themselves, by definition, perceive as evil—since the lesser of two evils is in itself evil—but also, by enlarging the turnout, it allows the winning candidate to claim a "mandate" from the voters.

Myths about voting die hard. But in this post-Watergate age of increased awareness of the workings of the political system, it is appropriate to reflect on the assumptions we have been conditioned (brainwashed?) to hold about voting.

In his landmark *Journal of Political Economy* article, "An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy," Anthony Downs came to "the startling conclusion that it is irrational for most citizens to acquire political information for purposes of voting . . . [since] the probability that . . . [any person's] vote will determine which party governs is so low that even a trivial cost of procuring information outweighs its return." Downs recognized some good reasons why rational persons might become well informed about politics but they do not apply to the "average citizen."

Since, as Downs observed, the effect of any one citizen's vote is virtually negligible—and for the additional reasons that the quality of candidates tends to be so wretched—and in any event voters do not (ordinarily) get paid for voting for a particular candidate—it is indeed quite rational for most citizens *not* to vote. On the other hand, I submit that, in general, the primary justification for an individual to vote in a typical election is simply a *feeling of self satisfaction* that the voter has done the "right" thing by participating in the system. Beyond this, there is likely to be a higher marginal value for an ideologically oriented person to vote for a minor party: A relatively small number of votes can help establish a visible alternative which can influence the program of a major party and can influence voter preference in favor of the minor party's program. Besides the question of voting for candidates, it is generally worthwhile to vote on bond issues and other tax measures: Since taxation is inherently coercive, it is desirable to vote *no* on tax issues—and allow the individuals in a community who desire a particular program to finance it on a voluntary, consensual basis (just as we finance most facilities today, from supermarkets to churches)—without forcing the nonconsenting minority to share in the cost.

Assuming it makes sense to become sufficiently well informed to vote intelligently, it is difficult to justify voting for any candidate unless he or she is a principled person who is genuinely worthy of receiving one's vote. Never succumb to the "lesser of two evils" trap! For example, if voters were presented with a Joseph Stalin-type running for President against an Adolph Hitler-type, why would any right-minded citizen want to vote for either of them? Wouldn't we be better off if less than one percent of the voters cast a ballot, so that the 99 percent of nonvoters—by staying home on election day—could effectively signify their hostility to both candidates?

Many Americans supported Richard Nixon for President in 1972 over George McGovern, because they viewed Nixon as the lesser of two evils. Those that voted for John Hospers, the Libertarian Party candidate, are among the few voters I know who are still proud of their choice for President in 1972. And the marginal importance of a vote for Hospers was clearly greater than an additional vote for either Nixon or McGovern. It is a refreshing item of political history that the Hospers campaign garnered one electoral vote—with the result that Hospers received only 16 less electoral votes than McGovern—and, like McGovern, lost to Nixon by a landslide. Since it was clear on the eve of the election that McGovern was going to be swamped, there was no good reason for any person who values freedom to support McGovern. And, by the same token, since the Nixon-Agnew ticket was clearly going to win, it made little sense for libertarian voters to increase the margin of victory, given Nixon's first term performance in imposing wage-price controls and otherwise expanding governmental power.

The national political scene has shifted markedly from the one-sided Republican presidential victory in 1972. According to a national survey taken in December for the Republican National Committee, there has been "unbelievable increases in cynicism toward politics and American institutions in general and toward the Republican Party in particular." The survey found that 40 percent of Americans considered themselves independents, compared to 42 percent who identified themselves as Democrats and only 18 percent who said they were Republicans.

Widespread voter protest against both major parties—and a repudiation of the "duty to vote" myth—is dramatically shown by the low turnout in last November's elections. It was not merely disinterest or apathy that led to the lowest voter turnout since 1942. *Sixty-two percent* of the voters stayed home on election day (a widely accepted estimate, based on the actual votes cast, measured against the known voting age population). (The U.S. Bureau of the Census claims that 55 percent of eligible voters failed to vote last November, based on its interviews with 100,000 eligible voters.) Of particular interest in terms of libertarian campaign objectives is the Census Bureau's finding that 64 percent of Americans between 18- to 20-years old and 53 percent of those 21 to 24 did not register in 1974—and, of those eligible to vote, only 21 percent of 18 to 20 year olds went to the polls (compared with 52 percent of 18 to 20 year olds who voted in 1972).

A study of the low 1974 turnout by Duke University's political science institute found that a large number of eligible voters made a *conscious decision* not to vote, and more than half of the eligible voters did not really care which party won—and concluded that people have lost faith in political parties as a means of solving national problems.

In an analysis of the upset victory of Maine governor James Longley—the first independent elected to a governor's office in nearly 50 years—columnist David Broder observed that many analysts are predicting that "the independents will replace the Democrats as the largest 'party' by 1976." Broder points to Longley's victory as showing how an independent presidential candidate might actually win in 1976. To the extent any independent candidate might be put up against President Ford by disgruntled conservatives and wage a campaign on a philosophical level—rather than pragmatic, consensus politics as usual—we would expect libertarian principles to be given more meaningful exposure in the ensuing debate.

It is a welcome sign of the times that a bill was recently introduced in the California Legislature which would enable

voters to reject all candidates by adding a new category on the ballot: "None of the above is acceptable." Long advocated by the League of Non-Voters, a proposal of this type is discussed in Ridgway Foley's thoughtful article on election reform in this issue. We heartily endorse this proposal. And we are delighted to see signs of brightening prospects for libertarians to cast a meaningful ballot—either by marking on the ballot or writing in one of the increasing number of libertarian candidates—or, if no qualified candidate is available, by voting for "None of the above." —MANUEL S. KLAUSNER

money $

GOOD GUYS AND BAD GUYS

DAVIS E. KEELER

When you consider how the Naderites are able to detect consumer rip-offs of an almost metaphysical subtlety, it had long amazed me that they had never blown the whistle on the robbery of the small saver through government-enforced ceilings on the interest paid small savings accounts. As we have seen before (REASON, February 1973, p. 27), the combination of artificially low interest rates, inflation, and taxation amount to an expropriation of the capital of the small saver.

Since this result is undeniable, and may be demonstrated by simple arithmetic, I had assumed that the lack of interest by the consumerists must stem from some obtuse ideological distinction. Perhaps anyone with enough money to have a savings account was, *ipso facto,* an exploiter of the people, living off the surplus value of the workers.

It was with some amazement, therefore, that I found in the January 16th issue of *Rolling Stone,* tucked between an exegesis on Watergate and a think piece on Gregg Allman, a scathing espose of this scandal.

The article was well-written and showed a good deal of research. The most interesting thing about the piece, however, was the approach the writer took to the problem. It may tell us something interesting about the consumerists, and even about ourselves.

The government-imposed restriction on the interest rates payable on small savings accounts has long been criticized by free marketeers. This critique is based on the belief that any restriction on a free market is harmful and it does not reflect any particular class-oriented concern for the small saver. Of course it *is* quite true, as Milton Friedman has remarked, that a free enterprise system is the only system that will prevent capitalists from having too much power (REASON, December 1974, p. 11).

The *Rolling Stone* article, by syndicated columnist Peter Weaver, casts the issue in terms—not of impersonal economic forces, of the mistaken judgments of government regulators, of misguided efforts to stabilize the credit system—but of personal greed and evil intentions.

Where free marketeers would talk about the *disfunctions* inherent in economic intervention, columnist Weaver gives us a moral *drama,* complete with a marvelous cast of heroes and villains.

The forces of evil are led by Glen Troop, a "slick operator" who "works behind the scenes wining and dining appropriate staff and committee members, making friends and keeping up contacts . . . ."

While Troop may be the personification of evil, its institutional form is comprised of such faceless engines of malevolence as the U.S. League of Saving Associations, the Savings Association Political Education Fund, and the Real Estate Political Action Committee, referred to collectively as the S&L lobby. One imagines fat old men wearing vests covered with dollar signs.

Through the machinations of these malefactors of great wealth, Congress has been persuaded to keep interest rates artificially low to fatten the profits of the Savings & Loan Associations. Not only are the regulated rates kept low, but the Government has been persuaded to raise the minimum purchase of higher yield Treasury bills from $1,000 to $10,000 to prevent small savers from shifting their savings from the 5 percent the S&L's were paying to the 9+ percent available in 90-day T-bills. These low rates applied only to the little guy; the fat cats could get the higher unregulated rates on certificates of deposit of $100,000 or more. The S&L lobby has also acted to prevent or discourage the "wild card" and floating rate plans offered by some institutions which would have given small savers a better rate of return.

But there are heroes too. And if they lack the rich political slush funds and lavish expense accounts with which to subvert our elected representatives, they are rich in other, finer ways. There is Peter Schuck, a "mild-manner [sic], bearded attorney," who has the "dogged persistence of the Nader-type public interest lawyer."

And then there is Charles Vanik (D-Ohio), a maverick who has "lined up for the small saver," "fighting a lone battle" on the House Ways & Means Committee.

And there are even villains who act heroically, though Weaver seems uneasy with this intricacy of characterization. Rep. John Rousselot (R-California) has been a vocal foe of the anticompetitive nature of these measures and their adverse impact on the small saver. While literary convention now permits portrayal of a Republican who expresses concern for persons earning less than $50,000 per year, Rousselot is a well-known right-winger and former member of the John Birch Society. Despite the fact that the Birch Society is predominantly made up of the "small saver" class, Weaver labels him an "unlikely hero."

The article presents a good summary of government intervention in the market for savings deposits, some of the moves by savers and financial institutions to avoid this intervention, and government countermoves to keep them in line. It concludes with some proposals to correct the problem, including even removal of many of the restrictions on competition, although this is tentatively offered as merely "another possibility" and seems limited to such "radical" measures as allowing S&L's to offer checking accounts. Interestingly enough, the proposal to give a tax credit on savings account interest is rejected because, as a result of the progressive tax system, it would give a bigger tax savings to high income taxpayers. The possibility of allowing a free market in savings deposits, in which the interest payable would be solely determined by the market, is apparently too radical for serious consideration.

AND DISMAL SCIENCE

In contrast to *Rolling Stone's* high-spirited exposition, the free market version seems indeed a dismal science. For example, Indiana University economics professor Michael Klein, writing in the September 13th *National Review,* discusses the same problem. If he offers no heroes to cheer or villains to hiss, he does offer a concise, reasoned explanation of how what he assumes to be well-intentioned government regulation results in discrimination against the small saver together with increased costs and reduced availability of home loans. He explains how low interest rates on S&L accounts channel deposits (particularly the larger ones) into the open market where they lower the cost of corporate and govern-

mental borrowing. As Klein remarks, "It is a predictable consequence of government price fixing. There is no essential difference between the current unavailability of mortgage funds and the beef shortage of the summer of 1973."

So, here we have two versions of the same reality. One is highly colored, with characters the reader can identify with or loathe, and the other is a quiet, reasoned explanation of how yet another interventionist attempt to "improve on the market" has produced undesirable effects that its authors could never have intended. The first concludes with recommendations for further fiddling with the market, while the second concludes that there is no justification for these restrictions on freedom and that they should be abandoned. The first is reformist, the second is radical. It is interesting to speculate on which article had the greatest influence.

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Davis Keeler's Money column alternates monthly in REASON with John J. Pierce's Science Fiction column.

book review

Reviewed by JOHN P. CLARK III

ENQUIRY CONCERNING POLITICAL JUSTICE. By William Godwin. Abridged and edited by K. Codell Carter. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. Hardcover and Paperback. 340 pp.

William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* is perhaps the most notable attempt at a systematic presentation of anarchist theory in the history of political thought. For a few years after the work's appearance in 1793, it exerted a considerable influence on English radicalism, only to fall into general disfavor during the period of reaction which soon set in. In later years it has been for the most part ignored. Since the beginning of the 19th century it has seldom been reprinted, and Godwin has been known primarily through usually brief and often inaccurate references by historians of political theory. Yet he is a theorist of considerable ability, and *Political Justice* is interesting both as an ambitious attempt at the application of metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical principles to political theory, and for its challenging approach to topics such as political authority, rights, punishment, and property. Furthermore, the revival of interest in anarchism which has occurred in the past few years should result in a growing interest in Godwin, the first and one of the most capable exponents of philosophical anarchism. Until the appearance of this new edition, the only version available has been F.E.L. Priestley's excellent but quite expensive three-volume edition. The existence of a paperback edition therefore fulfills a need for the accessibility of the work to a much wider audience.

Carter has included in his abridgement all that is necessary for an understanding of the underlying philosophical principles of the work and their application to the issues of politics. Very little is omitted from the first four books, wherein Godwin sets forth the foundations of his philosophy. There he expounds his views that human thought and action are under the influence of the environment and that a change in social institutions is capable of producing vast moral improvement. He argues for social melioration through a growth of rationality, and contends that human beings are capable of guiding their actions by rational benevolence. His moral philosophy is a form of hedonistic utilitarianism and accordingly he presents a utilitarian interpretation of concepts such as justice, virtue, duty and rights. In this part of the work he also launches a defense of the utility of private judgment, and argues that political authority is a threat to individual autonomy.

The latter four books of *Political Justice* are concerned with an application of the basic principles to more specific political issues. Carter deletes much of Godwin's criticism of monarchy and aristocracy, but he retains the essentials of his polemic against both authoritarian and centralized government, and his apology for the autonomous decentralized community as the form of social life most consonant with individual autonomy and social progress. The reader will also find intact the important elements of Godwin's defense of freedom of expression (which anticipated many of the arguments of Mill), his critique of punishment, and his analysis of property in terms of a utilitarian criterion of distribution according to need.

Although the editor has done a commendable job of abridgement, there are several sections the omission of which must be regretted. Examples are some of Godwin's comments on monarchy, which have a bearing on the question of a strong executive (of particular contemporary interest is the omitted chapter on "a President with Regal Powers"), and a portion of the chapter on the "Scale of Punishment" which deals with concrete proposals for alternatives to imprisonment. However, the most serious omission consists of several sections which have often been attacked as extremely utopian and unrealistic. The best known of these sections is his description of an ideal future society in which human life will be indefinitely extended, and there will come an end to war, crime, government, disease, and unhappiness. It is true that Godwin himself calls these sections "conjecture" and does not consider them essential to his argument. However, since they have given rise to so much misinterpretation and unjustified criticism of Godwin in the past, they perhaps ought to have been left for the reader's own evaluation.

Carter's introduction to the edition constitutes one of the most successful short accounts of Godwin's political thought to appear to date. It performs the useful function of setting right many of the distortions of Godwin's ideas which have persisted through nearly two centuries of misinterpretation. He points out, for example, the fundamental utilitarianism of Godwin's moral philosophy (a quality missed by many commentators, including, most notably, Priestley). Moreover, he stresses the overall consistency with which Godwin applies the premises of his utilitarian ethics to social and political issues; a consistency often obscured by his frequent lack of care in the use of language. Carter also distinguishes Godwin's doctrine of perfectibility from the sort of naive optimism for which it has so often been mistaken. Furthermore, he shows the centrality of the author's environmentalism to the doctrines of *Political Justice*. One of the most significant contributions of the essay is an interesting argument concerning Godwin's view that human beings always do what they believe to be most desirable. Carter argues that although this contention may be based on faulty premises (as critics like D. H. Monro have suggested), it may still be a defensible description of human action.

Carter is, however, less successful in his attempt to exhibit a weakness in Godwin's attack on governmental authority. He holds that government may escape the force of Godwin's criticism if it can be shown to rest on a type of authority other than those discussed in *Political Justice*. However, the only possibility he mentions, the kind of authority which is delegated to an agent, is in fact dealt with by Godwin. He recognizes such authority as being at times a practical necessity; yet, he holds it to be in all cases a threat to autonomy, and therefore to require strict limitation. Furthermore, he argues in his

discussion of social contract theory that a government which purports to rest on such authority would have difficulty justifying coercion.

Carter makes the valid point that some of Godwin's argument, particularly on the subjects of property and punishment, is weakened by a lack of empirical evidence. An instance is the contention that punishment for the sake of example fails to have the desired effect—deterrence. Godwin badly misuses the ideas of Italian criminologist Cesare Beccaria by invalidly applying to punishment in general arguments which that writer more successfully directed against capital punishment in particular. However, it might be said in Godwin's behalf that some elements of his discussion escape the criticism, since they consist of philosophical analysis of concepts, and are not dependent on empirical evidence. This is the case with his assertion that punishment for the purpose of example by its very nature inevitably conflicts with the utilitarian concern for the uniqueness of situations.

For the most part, Carter demonstrates an unusual perception of the value of Godwin's speculation on political issues such as the nature of authority, the effects of force, and the consequences of punishment and inequality. A notable exception, however, is his failure to appreciate the contemporary relevance of Godwin's concept of social organization. It is true that Godwin's extreme individualism prevented him from developing any convincing proposals for voluntary association to replace state power: this task was left for Bakunin, Kropotkin, and other exponents of social anarchism. Yet his arguments against centralized authority and his defense of decentralization are of great significance in laying the groundwork for both classical anarchist theory and for contemporary libertarian thought. In view of the revival of interest in anarchist and decentralist ideas (as exemplified by the movements for workers' control, community control of schools, and neighborhood government) the importance of Godwin's critique of centralized organization, and, therefore, the importance of the book *Political Justice*, has grown significantly. ◻

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REASON devotes an entire issue to books of interest to libertarians in its Special Fall Book Issue.

BOOKS AND TAPES BY NATHANIEL BRANDEN

BOOKS

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SELF-ESTEEM / Nathaniel Branden's basic presentation of his school of "Biocentric" psychology. This book deals with such issues as the Nature of Psychology as a Science, the Nature of Life, Consciousness, Emotions, Anxiety, Repression, Romantic Love and Psychotherapy. A path-breaking and revolutionary approach to psychology. Price **$7.95/1.25**

BREAKING FREE / In this companion work to *The Psychology of Self-Esteem*, Dr. Branden presents a new method for rapidly uncovering the childhood origins of a negative self-concept. The method consists of 22 questions developed successfully in his practice to break the barrier of repression and to bring to light the childhood experiences responsible for a negative view of oneself as immoral or ineffectual, worthless, helpless or worse. *Breaking Free* is a "how to" manual for certain types of de-repression. Price **$5.95/1.25**

THE DISOWNED SELF / Branden's third book is primarily concerned with human awareness and integration, focusing on the phenomenon of self-alienation, a "condition in which the individual is out of contact with his own needs, feelings, emotions, frustrations and longings so that he is largely oblivious to his actual self . . . ." Branden argues that this process of "disowning" one's feelings and emotions is one of the root causes of neuroses. *The Disowned Self* focuses on the true relationship between reason and emotions. Price **$7.95**

AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF BIOCENTRIC THERAPY / Dr. Branden's most recently published work is a brief and informal treatment of his system of Biocentric therapy in which man's full biological nature is taken into account in the therapeutic process in order that he may effectively satisfy his needs and enhance his well-being. Price **$1.25**

CASSETTE TAPES

THE BRANDEN TAPES: Discussions of Man-Woman Relationships / These are actually two sets of cassette tapes available together or separately. One involves a discussion between Nathaniel Branden and a group of male patients, the other discussions with female patients. Throughout both taped discussions, he deals with issues concerning sex, man-woman relationships, marriage and the various problems that men and women encounter in the process of dealing with and relating to one another. The tapes are ideal for the partners in a romantic relationship to listen to together, but are also suitable for individual or group listening. They are guaranteed to open up areas of discussion that may lead to the discovery of impediments to successful relationships. **Discussions With Men** (84 Min.) Tapes 534-35 / Price **$15** / **Discussions With Women** (157 Min.) Tapes 536-39 / Price **$30** / Both Sets **$40**

AN EXERCISE IN SELF DISCOVERY / This tape recorded set of exercises taken from Branden's practice of psychotherapy sets forth a method used successfully to dissolve blocks that prevent our communicating or having intimate relations with other people, particularly people that we love. Branden explains the principles behind the exercise and gives examples of how it works. Similar to, but going far beyond, the technique of sentence completion described in *The Disowned Self*, this tape offers a potent tool for gaining access to repressed or disowned material within a person's mind. Tape 541 (43 Min.) / Price **$9.95**

BASIC RELAXATION AND EGO-STRENGTHENING PROGRAM / This unusually effective cassette combines insights which Branden has developed in the field of psychotherapy with the principles of hypnosis. Its aim is to produce deep feelings of relaxation in the listener, to promote feelings of physical and psychological well-being and to strengthen feelings of self-confidence and self acceptance. Not a lecture, this tape is a psychological experience which can have very interesting and beneficial effects after a number of repetitions. Tape 599 (25 Min.) / Price **$10**

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DISCOVERING THE UNKNOWN SELF / In a recording that was released at approximately the same time as the book of the same title, Dr. Branden presents a succinct summary of the essential points made in that book, namely, a comprehensive analysis of the problem of self-alienation resulting from childhood "learning" experiences. Tape 550 (91 Min.) / Price **$12.95**

ALIENATION / Here Dr. Branden discusses the problem of "personal identity," attacks the works of Erich Fromm and others who have attempted to blame "alienation" in modern society on capitalism. Dr. Branden develops the relationship between political freedom and psychological well-being. Tape 552 (51 Min.) / Price **$7.50**

TEENAGERS' QUESTIONS ON SEX / Dr. Branden responds to questions from teenagers, setting forth his views on sex and marriage in a context particularly applicable to young people. Tape 554 (47 Min.) / Price **$7.50**

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLEASURE AND SOCIAL METAPHYSICS / This tape contains recordings of two addresses by Dr. Branden. The first concerns the psychology of pleasure and is a discussion of the importance of pleasure for man. According to Branden, pleasure is not a luxury but a profound psychological need, "the reward and concomitant of successful action." In *Social Metaphysics*, Branden describes the personality type characterized by excessive concern with gaining the approval of other persons and a lack of self-generated, personal identity. Dr. Branden shows that at the root of this neurotic condition is a desire to escape from the responsibilities of volitional consciousness, from man's true nature. Tape 553 (47 Min.) / Price **$7.50**

PSYCHOTHERAPY AND THE OBJECTIVIST ETHICS / Unlike most modern day psychologists, Nathaniel Branden is vitally concerned with values. Guilt, anxiety and self-doubt entail moral judgments. Is sex evil? Is man his brother's keeper or does he have a right to live for his own happiness? etc. In this important cassette, Dr. Branden seeks to answer the question "What are values and why does man need them?" He then outlines the ethics of Objectivism, a systematic philosophy with which he has long been identified and shows that the virtues of rationality, independence, integrity, honesty, justice, productiveness and pride are essential ingredients to the attainment of happiness. Tape 551 (72 Min.) / Price **$8.95**

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ROMANTIC LOVE / In this 16-lecture course, Dr. Branden deals with one of the most crucially important aspects of human life. He integrates the theoretical and practical aspects of romantic love and describes the conditions necessary for its continual growth. The course is presented on 16 cassette tapes each running between 60 and 90 minutes and including the following subjects. —The Historical Evolution of Romantic Love—The Nature of Love—Healthy Love Versus Neurotic Love—Love In Sex—Misconceptions About Masculinity and Femininity—Fear of Masculinity and Femininity—The Goals of a Romantic Relationship—The Failure to Project Psychological Visibility—Emotional Repression—Dealing with Emotional Repression in Marriage—Communicating Dissatisfaction—The Nature of Sexual Interaction—Problems in the Area of Sex—The Concept of Marriage. Tapes 601-616 / Price **$108**

OTHER SEMINAR DISCUSSIONS / These are discussions recorded in Los Angeles between Dr. Branden and rotating groups of friends, co-workers, students and patients. The format of the discussions centers around a single topic with questions being put to Dr. Branden for extemporaneous response.

Nathaniel Branden Discusses Self Esteem / Tape 802 (88 Min.) / Price **$13.50**
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VICTIMLESS CRIMES / Branden here defines and defends libertarian philosophy on the concepts of "crimes." He contends that society has no right to prohibit actions that do not involve harm or coercion to anyone else and which are crimes only by definition of law./ Tape 206 (59 Min.) / Price **$7.50**

THE CONCEPT OF GOD / One lecture taken out of the Basic Principles of Objectivism course and offered on a separate tape discusses—and dismisses—the reasons most often advanced for the existence of God / Tape 564 (88 Min.) / Price **$9.95**

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foreign correspondent

COMPETING GOVERNMENTS?

REASON Editor Robert Poole recently vacationed in the South Pacific island group known as the New Hebrides, a tax haven which has the distinction of being the world's only country with two competing governments. His report on developments there provides interesting data on this unique arrangement.

Vila, New Hebrides. The New Hebrides is a group of islands in the southwestern Pacific, about 500 miles west of Fiji. Known for the past decade as a tax haven (there are no taxes on incomes, property, inheritance, or sales; only import and export duties, and fees for various services), the New Hebrides also is a testing ground for the idea of competing governments. The first thing a new resident or investor must decide is which legal system—French or British—he wishes to adopt. Unfortunately, the competition between the two government systems is what is known as oligopoly (or shared monopoly): no *other* governments are permitted, and a person's (or company's) choice is irrevocable, i.e. brand-switching is impossible. Nonetheless, the New Hebrides still offers a fascinating example of the advantages and disadvantages of choice among governments.

This unique system dates back to 1914 when France and Great Britain drew up a Protocol calling for joint administration of the island territory which neither wished to relinquish to the other. The system established by the Protocol has endured, with only minor changes, to this day—though for reasons discussed below, it appears unlikely to last much longer. There are two completely separate legal systems, based on entirely different traditions (English common law vs. the Napoleonic Code), plus the natives' own common law, which is recognized in a third system, complete with Native Courts.

The differences between the systems make for some interesting problems. In regard, for example, to beachfront property rights—if a piece of land is registered under British law, the property extends down to the mean high tide line; under French law, it extends only to the maximum high tide line; while under the native system, the landowner's property is considered to extend out into the water to the point where the bottom is no longer visible. There are separate courts for the British, French, and native systems, as well as a Joint Court which hears appeals from the others, deals with cases involving natives vs. whites, and handles most land cases. The Joint Court is one appendage of the Condominium government—the central government that has developed to deal with services common to both the British and French administrations (roads, postal service, radio station, ports, etc.).

The economy of the New Hebrides is still largely colonial, depending principally on copra (dried coconut meat, an important ingredient for making soap and other household products). And the copra trade is dominated by two giant trading companies—typically, one British (Burns-Philp) and one French (Companie Francaise Nouvelle Hebrides). Both B.P. and C.F. N.H. operate copra ships and bring in food and household products to the various islands, as well as hold most of the franchises and dealerships for insurance, automobiles, tires, airlines, shipping lines, travel agencies, etc. The New Hebrides is thus much like a company town. The electric company serving Vila, the capital, has a 50-year exclusive franchise; it charges 47¢ per kilowatt hour (vs. about 4-5¢ in the U.S.) and $91 to begin service! But times are changing. Since 1969, when the New Hebrides began to gain fame as a tax haven, thousands of companies have incorporated here; some 800 companies are nominally located in a single two-story law office building in Vila. Some 55 banks are represented in Vila. With the new money from these companies has come a building boom, new hotels, restaurants, gas stations, and the beginnings of a real tourist business.

CLOUDS ON THE HORIZON

The reputation of the New Hebrides as a tax haven and tropical paradise is starting to tarnish, however, as a result of changes in the past few years. The Condominium government has increasingly developed a life and momentum of its own, passing Joint Regulations (including gasoline rationing, price controls, censorship, and land use controls) without any sort of constitutional limitation. There is no Constitution and no legislature; the British and French Resident Commissioners are appointed by their home countries, and the Condominium staff consists of hordes of hired civil servants. The District Agents appointed by the Commissioners serve on the Joint Courts in each District, thereby providing only a token kind of judicial review of the Commissioners' policies.

One of the most ominous developments occurred in 1971. An American land developer, Eugene Peacock, developed a large residential complex in Santo, and sold lots to Americans. In October of that year, after most of the lost were sold, the Condominium government issued several "retroactive laws" to limit subdivisions, which it then charged Peacock with not having complied with. As a result, the Condominium has refused to register the land titles of those who have bought the lots. Peacock is fighting the ruling in the British courts, with the case expected to be heard this June. His lawyers are prepared to appeal to the High Court of the Pacific, and if necessary to the Privy Council. Meantime, other foreign developers are biding their time, awaiting a new land tenure law that has been promised for this year. Local developers continue unharassed and apparently unworried.

But the most far-reaching development concerns the prospect of independence for the New Hebrides, now considered likely within the next five years. The British have wanted out for some years, but not at the expense of turning the country over to the French. So they have quietly encouraged the growth of indigenous political forces which are advocating complete, immediate independence. The leading political group is the 3-year-old National Party, headed by 32-year-old Father Walter Lini, a native and an Anglican priest on leave from his church duties. Lini's rhetoric has overtones of antiwhite racism and anticapitalism. He claims to be in favor of economic development, but is hostile to the immigration of job creators. "With immigration laws as they are, anybody can come in, buy land, and set up their own business, leaving[?] New Hebrideans to work as servants or office workers. We realize that these people are contributing to the development of the country, but unfortunately the biggest piece of the cake is going to them." Lini calls for an "independent government which must control the economic, political, and social aspects of New Hebridean life," and adds ominously, "As far as we are concerned, the tax haven can disappear tomorrow." The National Party has called all land titles held by whites "invalid," has demanded independence by 1977, and has sent Lini to the U.N. to ask that body to take over from the French and British if these two countries do not move fast enough to implement his program.

An opposition to Lini's forces is coming into being, based on a new coalition among two smaller French-oriented

parties—M.A.N.H. and U.C.N.H.—together with the native political group Na-Griamel, led by charismatic Jimmy Stephens of Santo. Although Stephens once had an antiwhite reputation, in the past few years his views have changed as he has come to realize the value of economic development that can be brought about by foreign investment and immigration. Like U.C.N.H. and M.A.N.H., Na-Griamel now takes a generally free enterprise stand. These parties also favor independence, but on a slower, more realistic timetable than the National Party.

Although much of the push for independence stems from resentment against the imposed colonial rule, and people's lack of a voice in the government, a good part of the resentment is directed against the dual system of government. Having to deal with two (or sometimes three) governments to get things done has proven to be much more troublesome and time-consuming than dealing with only one. When changes in the system are needed, or important decisions must be made, it can take *years* before anything is accomplished. In one sense this may be good (in terms of delaying or preventing bad laws) but it makes it equally hard to remove or change bad laws and policies, and to get approval to do things. Equally frustrating for many people has been the necessity to deal with two official languages (plus Pidgin), two currencies, two police forces, two school systems, etc. Being able to choose your government may be nice, but many people have found it to be not worth the trouble.

OUTLOOK

The Condominium's days appear to be numbered. In November the British and French held a conference in London, attended by the two Resident Commissioners. The conference agreed to set up a new system of elected local governments on the islands, to create a legislative assembly before the end of this year, to unify the legal system (combining French substantive law with British procedural law), and to develop a unified land tenure system. The legislative assembly will include 12 members appointed by the British and French, 3 selected by the native chiefs, and 26 elected members. For the New Hebrideans, it will mark their first national elections, and for many natives, their first experience in voting. Universal suffrage has been promised, without regard to literacy or other qualifications. To underscore the importance of these steps, the two governments sent their chief overseas ministers to Vila in January for a series of public meetings. Interestingly, the ministers never once used the word independence, but reaffirmed their support for the tax haven status of the New Hebrides.

All is not lost for these islands. It is by no means certain that the leftist National Party commands a majority, and the French and British are still firmly in control. The other parties have barely begun to fight, and could well turn things around before the New Hebrides goes the way of many fledgling nations—headlong into a disastrous socialism. Most observers think it will be five years or more before independence, plenty of time for things to go in either direction.

ROBERT POOLE, JR.

CAPITALISM AND ALL THAT

The lawyer in debt need not worry, perspire;
He can let all his creditors bellow and bray.
For he knows a rich client who's about to expire,
And where there's a will, there's a way.

Dennis J. Chase

COMING NEXT MONTH

The energy crisis has been much in the news and next month's issue tackles it head on. Consulting engineer, R. W. Johnson, shows how this crisis is the cumulative result of decades of government intervention, and presents an innovative plan for solving the problem by bringing back a free market in energy. With national health insurance being considered a nearly sure thing, Dr. Thomas Boland provides a chilling history of the results of government controlled medicine abroad, detailing its little publicized effects on doctors, hospitals and patients. Also in the May issue, land use consultant Edmund Contoski catalogs the many ways in which our urban areas are affected by government controls, and offers insights into the kinds of urban areas we might expect under a policy of laissez-faire. Also in the May issue is a review of John Gaddis' challenge to the revisionists: The U.S. and the Origins of the Cold War, David Brudnoy's Viewpoint, John Pierce's science fiction column, and all of REASON's regular columns and features.

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DEADLINE FOR ORDERS:
June issue—April 1.

• **REPORT TO THE COMMISSIONER,** like *Serpico* before it, is an indictment of police corruption and abuse of power. Once again a victimless crime provides the basis for the plot, and once again (unfortunately) the issue of victimless crime, and its relation to corruption in the ranks, is bypassed. To its credit, however, the movie does probe the Watergate mentality, and features a dandy attempt at a cover-up following the accidental shooting of an undercover policewoman by an undercover policeman. An investigation of the shooting and subsequent events by the city's police commissioner uncovers an elaborate web of intrigue, deception and espionage. The victim of these devious games is Michael Moriarty, appealing if not quite convincing as a naive "liberal" rookie out to conquer crime with love and understanding. Yaphet Kotto is effective as his street-wise, cynical partner, while Susan Blakely is ambiguous as an undercover narc who spies on pushers by sleeping with them. Tony King delivers a surprisingly strong and complex performance as a drug pusher, while Hector Elizondo is repulsive as a Liddy-type coverup artist. The movie is shot in a gritty, naturalistic style, and emotionally it's a downer. But it provides enough tension, drama and food for thought to compensate for its faults. Rated "PG."—**Charles F. Barr**

• The detective story is an acquired taste, one I have been unable to acquire. Adapting such a story to the screen does little to make it more palatable. The latest whodunit, **MURDER ON THE ORIENT EXPRESS,** affords a dozen top-flight actors the opportunity to ham it up in a vehicle that is more artifice than art. But it is absolutely faithful to the genre, and those who liked the Agatha Christie novel will probably love the movie. British actor Albert Finney gives an energetic performance as detective Hercule Poirot, though his accent is so pronounced that at times it is unintelligible. As a passenger on the legendary Orient Express, he is commissioned to solve a murder aboard the train before it reaches Belgrade. Among the suspects are Anthony Perkins, Vanessa Redgrave, Sean Connery, Ingrid Bergman, Michael York, Jacqueline Bisset and Lauren Bacall. The audience is bombarded with clues—too many to sort out in the movie's two hours. Sidney Lumet's direction is strongly reminiscent of the 1930's (when the events are supposed to take place), and is as mechanical and contrived as the plot. Rated "PG."—**C.F.B.**

• Michael Drach's **LES VIOLONS DU BAL** recollects his experiences as a young Jewish child in occupied France during the Second World War and his eventual escape to Switzerland. It also shows his efforts as an adult trying to convince financial backers that his film should be made and distributed. The money men are skeptical: they don't believe that audiences are interested in the past, especially the past that Drach wants to recreate, without violence and death. But of course they are wrong. Anything remotely connected with the Nazi phenomenon holds enough fascination to support even this slender, albeit beautiful, film. It is not a film of revelations, as was Marcel Ophuls' *The Sorrow and the Pity.* The closest that Drach comes to acknowledging unpleasantness is in his portrayal of the venality of the French resistance workers who take all of his mother's money and then desert her and young Michel several yards from the Swiss border. The rest of the film is imbued with an elegance that substitutes for content. The impression conveyed by Drach's handsome and cultured family is not that of hardship or deprivation (indeed money never seems to be in short supply despite the absence of Michel's father and the abandonment of all the family's possessions) but of inconvenience, as they move in hiding from household to household, always maintaining their warm good humor and unfailing sense of high style. No matter how difficult the situation becomes, the mother, portrayed by Marie-Josee Nat, never ceases to resemble a fading mannequin. It is a tender, winning film that has, in the words of one of the financial men who remains unpersuaded after a private screening, some interesting moments. For the most part, however, it never becomes more than an indulgent memory, evocative and sentimental, but almost completely without dramatic substance. Not rated.—**James F. Carey**

Albert Finney (center) confronts the suspects in the climactic scene of Murder on the Orient Express.

• **BARR'S "BESTS"**

From what was largely a non-vintage year for movies, here are my picks for the "bests" of 1974.

Best picture: *Chinatown.*
Best actor: Jon Voight in *Conrack.*
Best actress: Faye Dunaway in *Chinatown.*
Best supporting actor: Marty Feldman in *Young Frankenstein.*
Best supporting actress: Valerie Perrine in *Lenny.* —**C.F.B.**

DRUG POLICY CHANGES?

In recent months, the Federal Government has been doing flip-flops with regard to possible drug law changes, raising various trial balloons regarding relaxation of the "new prohibition" of the 1970's. In November then-Attorney General William Saxbe said at a news conference that he would "welcome a change in the marijuana laws, but not for hard drugs. If the state legislatures and Congress see fit, I'm not going to fight it." However, in December, addressing a California Conference on Criminal Justice, Saxbe appeared to have changed his mind, saying that "legalizing marijuana would pose not only a law enforcement problem but a public health problem as well, and the nation already has too many public health problems from other substances."

Meanwhile, Dr. Robert L. DuPont, director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse, told the convention of the National Organization for Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML) that "people shouldn't be put through the criminal process for possession" of small quantities of marijuana. Citing new research data on possible health risks, DuPont urged the retention of public programs to *discourage* marijuana use, but without resorting to criminal penalties. A test of this approach was then announced for the District of Columbia by U.S. Attorney Earl J. Silbert, who told the D.C. Police Department that his office would no longer prosecute persons arrested for possession of less than five joints or one gram of marijuana in any other form. D.C. Police indicated they would no longer make first-offense arrests in such cases. But on the evening before the plan was to go into effect (Dec. 1) Silbert cancelled the order, reportedly under pressure from Saxbe and Police officials. Whether Saxbe's recent departure from office will permit the plan to be reinstated remains to be seen.

No such trial balloons are being issued yet with respect to such drugs as heroin, but the Federal Government is becoming increasingly aware that its costly war on drugs is not being won. "A year ago we had talked about turning the corner," DuPont noted in December, "but now . . . I don't think realistically we can talk about ending the problem." His office has computed the "social cost" of drug use and heroin addiction at some $10.3 billion —all but $1.7 billion of which is directly the result of government laws and programs: $6.9 billion in property crime (due to high government-caused black market prices for drugs), $1.1 billion for government antidrug programs, and $620 million for criminal justice personnel to process drug cases. (The other [nongovernment] costs include $1.5 billion in lost productivity and $200 million in health care costs.)

A radical, but sensible, answer to these costs was recently endorsed by the City Council of San Anselmo, Calif. By a 3 to 1 vote the Council asked the legislature to drop *all* criminal penalties for drug use, noting that "We have had drug use for as many centuries as you care to go back, but we never had a drug problem until many drugs became illegal in the 1900's."

SOURCES:
- "U.S. Shift on 'Pot' Policy Seen," AP (Washington), Nov. 15, 1974.
- "Saxbe on Marijuana Legalization," *Review of the News,* Dec. 18, 1974, p. 13.
- "Marijuana Arrests Curbed in U.S. Capital," AP (Washington), Nov. 17, 1974.
- "Relaxed Drug Rules Canceled in Capital," AP (Washington), Dec. 1, 1974.
- "Heroin Use in U.S. on Increase Again," Philip Hager, *Los Angeles Times,* Dec. 13, 1974.
- News item, *Los Angeles Times,* Nov. 28, 1974, p. 2.

INDEXING TAXES

There has been much controversy about the concept of "indexing," whereby prices, wages, and other dollar-denominated items would be periodically adjusted for inflation. Critics maintain that such a plan would tend to institutionalize inflation, rather than simply countering its effect. There is one area, however, where the concept has great merit: taxes. At present, the Federal Government profits handsomely from inflation because, with progressive tax rates, taxpayers tend to be continually pushed into higher tax brackets. Thus, the real rate of taxation increases as inflation proceeds.

To remove this incentive to Government irresponsibility, Sen. James Buckley has introduced legislation to link Federal tax brackets, personal exemptions, asset depreciation and capital gains, and new issues of Treasury securities to the Consumer Price Index. By automatically adjusting all these items to compensate the victims for inflation, the Government would be denied its inflation dividend. Buckley's bill has drawn support from Senators William Proxmire and George McGovern.

A similar plan was put into effect in Canada in 1972. The program links tax rates and exemptions to the Canadian price index for the taxable year. The system has not halted Canada's inflation, but it has benefitted taxpayers, and may well have held down the growth of government spending. Finance Minister John Turner points out that tax increases in the future will have to be openly legislated because government will no longer have the "hidden and automatic" increased revenues which results from inflation under a conventional progressive tax system such as that of the U.S. If inflation is the "cruelest tax," this plan provides a first step towards its repeal.

SOURCES:
- "De-Indexing the Government," *Wall Street Journal,* May 6, 1974, p. 16.
- "Canada Soothes the Pain of Taxpayers Stung by Inflation," Don Shannon, *Los Angeles Times,* June 30, 1974.

CHALLENGING SOCIAL SECURITY

The last few months have seen an increasing number of articles in newspapers and magazines pointing out what many libertarians have noted for years: the Social Security system is headed for disaster, brought on by unsound actuarial practices, changing demographics, and growing resentment of its onerous tax burden. In 1950 there were 12 working taxpayers for every retired recipient; by 1960 there were only 4 workers per retiree, and the figure is now down to 2.5 per retiree and headed much lower, due to increasing lifespans and declining birthrates.

Far-sighted individuals are seeking a way out of the system. One approach is to claim religious exemption as a minister, member of a religious order, or Christian Science practitioner, using IRS Form 4361. However, this form permits exemption from S.S. taxes only for those earnings connected with performance of religious duties. A broader approach is to request exemption, also on religious grounds, using IRS Form 4029. To use this form you must be a member of a "recognized religious sect" with "established tenets or teachings" that make its members "conscientiously opposed to the acceptance of the benefits of any private or public insurance payments"—including those of Social Security. The IRS further requires that HEW establish that (1) the sect has such teachings, (2) the sect or its members have an established practice of taking care of their dependent members, and (3) the sect has been in existence continuously since Dec. 31, 1950. Thus, Form 4029 is intended to be limited to a few, established sects, and applies only to self-employed members of such sects.

A variety of innovative legal challenges to this limited set of grounds for exemption is under way. These cases include the following individuals:
- *Dr. Robert S. Jaggard* of Oelwein, Iowa, a self-employed physician, has filed Form 4029, claiming his sect to be "Christianity" and that it meets all the requirements

set forth by the IRS. Jaggard plans to fight the IRS when they attempt to deny him the exemption. He has already renounced all Social Security benefits and claims he will cease making quarterly payments when his next one falls due on April 15.

• Self-employed accountant *Lloyd Taylor* of San Francisco has founded the Libertarian Religious Order and filed Form 4361 to exempt his income from S.S. taxes. On April 8, 1974 the form was *approved* by the IRS. Taylor also suggests filing Form 4029 and challenging the current restrictions as discriminatory against recently-founded religious groups.

• Self-employed tax consultant *James Davidson* has filed Form 4029 on grounds of *nonreligious* conscientious exemption, citing cases exempting men from the draft on nonreligious, moral grounds. After seizing funds from Davidson's bank account the first year, the IRS relented after he threatened court action on the case, rather than run the risk of a precedent-setting court decision.

• *Patrick Heller* of Pontiac, Michigan has recently notified the IRS and Social Security Administration that he is seeking exemption from Social Security on nonreligious grounds, as an *employee.* Heller argues that there is no basis for the present discrimination between employees and self-employed persons in seeking exemption. So far Heller's status is unclear, as the government has not yet responded.

These four cases hold the prospect of a way out for millions of people who would rather provide for their own retirement than be forced to participate in the government's increasingly shaky chain letter.

SOURCES:

• "Social Security's Solid Base Is Slipping Away," Jack Anderson syndicated column, Nov. 10, 1974.
• "Oelwein Physician Will Stop Paying Tax," Dale Kueter, *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* Nov. 10, 1974.
• "Anti-Social Security," Shirley Scheibla, *Barron's,* Jan. 21, 1974.
• Press release, Lloyd Taylor, CPA, November 1974.
• Press release, Patrick A. Heller, Dec. 20, 1974.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE: NEW QUESTIONS

A new and prestigious voice has been added to those questioning the wisdom of a National Health Insurance (NHI) program. The Institute of Medicine (IOM) of the National Academy of Sciences has raised important questions about the likely side effects of such a program. IOM's principal concern is that NHI "would induce more and more people to opt for highly expensive and elaborate forms of treatment such as extra tests, unnecessary surgery, and elaborate terminal care." Over the long term, the effect would be an over-investment in technology-intensive procedures, draining away funds and personnel from lower-cost care. IOM economist Herman Somers therefore recommends that expensive, high-technology procedures such as kidney dialysis should be included under NHI coverage.

A stronger point of view has been put forth by economist Martin Feldstein of Harvard. Feldstein predicts that *any* NHI plan in which patients make no or very low out-of-pocket payments will have the same long-term effect of encouraging expensive types of care. Feldstein points out that today's private insurance plans, which generally require an out-of-pocket expenditure of 20 cents for each dollar of care received, make doctors and patients very sensitive to ability to pay, in terms of selecting treatment alternatives. "Once you take the price [to the patient] down to zero, the top just blows off," he maintains.

Somers points to the example of the inclusion of Kidney dialysis in Medicare, by a 1972 Congressional decision. This provision initially cost taxpayers $135 million a year, but is expected to cost $1 billion per year by 1983. Likewise, demand for Medicaid was vastly underestimated; the original estimate of $258 million per year has mushroomed to an actual expenditure of $10.5 *billion* annually. Fortunately, responsible medical experts are making these points now, while NHI is still being debated; hopefully, this information may prevent a costly repetition of medical history.

SOURCES:

• "National Health Insurance: Will It Promote Costly Technology?" Deborah Shapley, *Science,* Nov. 3, 1974, p. 423.
• *The Rising Cost of Hospital Care,* M. S. Feldstein (Information Resources Press), 1971.
• *Disease by Disease Toward National Health Insurance?* (Institute of Medicine), 1973.

MILESTONES

• *Economic Controls.* Sen. William Proxmire, vice chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, has denounced economic controls as a "cruel joke" and an "economic nightmare." In a speech on the Senate floor, Proxmire pointed out that controls have been tried and have failed. Bucking the Democratic Party leadership (which has recently endorsed comprehensive wage and price controls), Proxmire warned that "the economy may be on the verge of a permanent economic straitjacket" if across-the-board controls are implemented. The reason for this danger is that there is never a "right" time to remove controls, so as to prevent a post-controls wage and price explosion; hence, there would be a strong temptation not to remove the controls at all. (Source: "Proxmire's Emphatic 'No' to Controls," *Los Angeles Times,* Dec. 6, 1974)

• *Bureaucracy.* A highly-paid Federal bureaucrat has proposed the abolition of the commission he heads—including his own job—because he's convinced that it is a waste of the taxpayers' money. Robert D. Moran heads the three-member Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, set up as a body to review decisions made by OSHA. Moran says the Commission's work generally affects only the size of the penalties, not the substance of the cases, and could be handled by the chief administrative judge instead. Abolition of the Commission and its staff of 44 would save about $1 million per year, Moran estimates. (Source: "U.S. Job-Health Official Would Abolish Own Job," Newhouse News Service (Washington, D.C.), Nov. 22, 1974)

• *Regulations.* The Transportation Department's automobile bumper standards are due to be reduced under a plan made public in December. The revised standard would reduce the bumper's impact speed from 5 mph to 2½ mph. Auto makers have estimated that such a change would save in the vicinity of $125 per can in initial cost, and reduce a typical car's weight by 100 pounds, thereby improving fuel economy. Although low-speed accident repair costs would increase, high speed accident repair costs would go down, averaging a $30 saving over the life of an average car. (Source: "U.S. May Ease Car Bumper Rules to Reduce Costs and Save Fuel," Dan Fisher, *Los Angeles Times,* Dec. 28, 1974)

• *Privacy.* Banks in California can no longer allow law enforcement officers to examine or seize bank records about individuals or businesses without a warrant or court order, according to an end-of-year ruling by the State Supreme Court. The Court ruled unanimously that allowing unlimited access to a person's financial transactions "opens the door to a vast and unlimited range of very real abuses of police power." The Court also stated that customers have a "reasonable expectation" that banks would treat checks, statements, and other financial records as confidential. (Source: "Supreme Court Upholds Privacy of Bank Data," Philip Hager, *Los Angeles Times,* Dec. 28, 1974) ◻

This column reports trends in the advancement of individual liberty and the rediscovery of economic freedom. Readers are invited to submit material of potential interest.

INFLATION

I spilt some milk the other day,
And cried and cried myself away.
(I know the maxim, point-by-point.
It's just that milk's five bucks a pint!)

Dennis J. Chase

viewpoint

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

THE OIL CAPER

The oil policy now endorsed by the entire media, and by both Democrats and Republicans, is nothing less than a species of economic insanity. Both the liberal and the conservative wings of the Establishment agree on the basics: that there is a worldwide oil "shortage," imposed by the evil Arabs of the OPEC cartel, and reflected in a price of crude oil that is much "too high"; *and* that the way to combat this alleged shortage is for the American government to impose *further* restraints on the consumption of oil, thereby *increasing* the shortage, and driving the price of oil and of petroleum products still higher! In other words, combat a shortage by deliberately making that shortage more severe! And yet there is almost no one in the media to blow the whistle on this lunacy; on the contrary, all quarters are joining in the hoopla.

To be more specific, the Democrats want to make the oil shortage more severe by imposing gasoline rationing, import quotas on oil, and compulsory allocations by government. In short, combat the oil shortage by *really* creating a shortage! The Ford administration, on the other hand, has opted for what it laughingly calls the "market" solution for the alleged problem: a high tariff on imported oil, joined with a high tax on domestic production, thereby restricting the supply of oil and gas, and driving the price up. *That's* the market? (For Greenspan-watchers, it should be noted that the "libertarian" Greenspan has, according to the *New York Times,* been in the forefront of advocating the Ford import tariff on oil.)

The rationales for this policy are on a par with the rest of the program. We are told that we must all "sacrifice" in order to become "self-sufficient" in energy, thereby flying in the face of the division of labor. Why not become self-sufficient in bananas, and do so by prohibiting the importation of the fruit, combined with a multi-billion dollar Federal subsidy of banana hothouses?

We are told that a higher price will help to "conserve" gas and oil, and stimulate the search for "alternative sources of energy." Yes, indeed, and if we placed a $100 per gallon tax on gasoline it would stimulate such a search even more frantically. The point is that the free market will set a price which will lead to just enough consumer "conservation" and just enough search for new fuels; driving up the price of oil and gas artificially will conserve *too much* and lead to the search for grossly uneconomic and expensive sources of energy. We are cutting off the noses of the American consumers in order to spite our faces.

If we had eyes to see, we would realize that the oil "shortage" is a farcical myth. If the OPEC countries have been charging $11 a barrel for crude, then we have all quietly and efficiently proceeded to "conserve" enough oil and petroleum products to take account of that situation. The gasoline "shortage" disappeared overnight last year when the U.S. and other Western governments finally allowed most gas and oil prices to rise to free market levels. The price of gasoline went up by 10¢ a gallon or so, and that was that. Has there ever been another time in human history when influential forces have called for the rationing of a product that is in no sense in short supply?

So what, then, has been going on? What's happening is that certain forces in the U.S. oil industry have been anxious to get a cut of the cartel pie. If the Arabs have successfully raised the price of oil, then let us cartellize through *our* government, and sock the American and European consumers still more! That is the essence of the Ford program. In a time of inflationary recession, we are called upon to raise the price of oil some more, and thereby injure the consumer and the health of the economy. As Dr. Hollis Chenery points out in the January issue of *Foreign Affairs,* it is far easier on Western Europe to pay the price for Arab crude than to "depress their economies by squeezing it out" by following the Kissinger-Ford program.

In fact, the reality of the situation is that the current cartel price of oil is in the process of being broken. Market forces are rapidly bringing about an oil "surplus" at the current price. The marvellous institution of gasoline price wars is already reappearing across the country. The "shortage" of oil refinery capacity, hooted about only a year ago, is becoming

a "surplus." The *New York Times* (Dec. 19) noted the emergence of a "worldwide oil surplus": "Stocks on hand of all three major petroleum products—gasoline, home heating oil and heavy industrial oil—are all considered by industry experts to be more than adequate in the United States and other industrial countries. . . . Europe and Japan are virtually awash in supplies." The *Oil Daily* recently reported that "with less oil being demanded and with more tankers around to carry it, the market has collapsed, pushing charter rates through the floor and leaving dozens of ships totally without work."

In short, the oil cartellists are becoming afraid of surpluses and consequent declines in prices, and they have put over a gigantic swindle on the American public, convincing us all that we must suffer *real* shortages and stiffer cartels enforced by the U.S. government, in the name of *combatting* a shortage! It's a massive swindle, but we all seem to be falling for it. What the U.S. Government *should* be doing is to move in the *opposite* direction, and to remove tariffs and restrictions on oil imports, as well as proration and other restrictions on domestic production, and allow free competition to work in aiding the long-suffering consumers of America and the rest of the world. ◻

Murray Rothbard is professor of economics at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. Dr. Rothbard's viewpoint appears in this column every third month, alternating with the viewpoints of Tibor Machan and David Brudnoy.

frontlines

REAGAN AIDE DEFECTS TO LP

Frontlines correspondent **Bruce Ramsey** reports from San Francisco:

The new National Director of the **Libertarian Party** is **Ned Hutchinson,** a 44-year old former Reagan official. He joined Ronald Reagan's administration in 1967, and for the past six years has been Reagan's appointments secretary, in charge of recommending to Reagan appointments to judicial, executive, and other government posts. On January 30, his own job finished, he broke ranks with the GOP and joined the Libertarian Party, becoming the LP's new national director.

"I've stood for maximum liberty and minimum government as long as I can remember," he said. "Seeing the GOP in Washington throw away individual liberties and violate their principle of fiscal responsibility with a $51 billion deficit is too much. The Republican Party no longer stands for anything."

New LP National Director Ned Hutchinson.

He said that he had been introduced to libertarianism about a year and a half ago by **Antony Sutton** of Stanford University, and had made up his mind several months ago that when his job in the Reagan administration was finished, he would join the LP.

For the next six months, his job is to get the LP on the ballot in as many states as possible. Now it is only on the ballot in two states, Washington and Colorado. In California, getting on the ballot requires either 610,000 signatures or 61,000 people registered as Libertarians—contrasted to the State of Washington, where it only takes 100 signatures. In view of the mathematics involved, Hutchinson says he will go for the registrations.

"We don't really know how many registrations there are," he said. "Some counties don't count minor party registrations if they only have a few. I would guess the number at below 5,000."

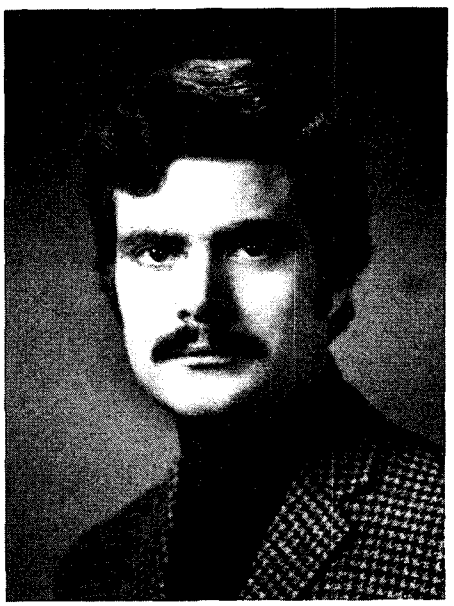
He is concerned that some of the publicity seeking stunts staged by libertarians have backfired at the polls. He noted that **Elizabeth Keathley,** a libertarian running on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket, had gotten plenty of media attention after she campaigned topless on the beach at Santa Monica, but she received only 1.2 percent of the vote [75,004 votes; four cents a vote—Ed.]. Similarly, **Jerry Tuccille** in New York challenged his opponents to a game of Monopoly, proclaimed that Chester A. Arthur was a great president, and sent a Godiva-like blonde in a body stocking riding through Central Park on a horse named Taxpayer. Yet Tuccille only got 10,800 votes out of a projected goal of 50,000, while **Kay Harroff** in Ohio, waging a much more idea-centered campaign, got almost 80,000 votes, spending 7½ cents per vote.

"Tuccille spent $6 a vote, which is a lot," said Hutchinson. "He got their attention, but he didn't sell them. There are responsible and attractive ways to get people's attention; I don't think a minority party has to be bizarre to be successful."

The LP told REASON that Hutchinson will be working out of the LP's San Francisco headquarters with National Chairman **Ed Crane** and an administrative assistant, **Linda Webb,** who was a top aide to George McGovern in California during the 1972 campaign. Crane stated that the hiring of Hutchinson "will provide for the continued growth of the Libertarian Party and accelerate our organizational efforts dramatically. Ned is a man of great resourcefulness and we are most fortunate to have obtained his services."

AUSTRIAN CONFERENCE

The **Institute for Humane Studies,** in conjunction with the **University of Hartford,** will sponsor a symposium on Austrian Economics at the University of Hartford, June 22-28, 1975. The primary focus of this particular conference is to provide younger scholars with an opportunity to present papers that explore some aspect of Austrian economic theory or history. Senior academic economists have been invited to comment on these papers and also lead occasional evening discussion periods.



Conference director, D. T. Armentano

Many young economists with an interest in Austrian economics have already agreed to present papers at the Hartford symposium. Economists such as **Ed Dolan, J. McCulloch, Walt Grinder, S. Shenoy,** and **G. O'Driscoll** will deliver papers in addition to many others. Senior economists such as **Murray Rothbard** and **Israel Kirzner** have already agreed to attend as commentators. In addition, it is expected that **F. A. Von Hayek** will deliver the keynote speech at the opening banquet.

Dr. D. T. Armentano, Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Hartford, will act as Director of the symposium and will also deliver a paper titled: "Competition & Monopoly: Some Austrian Perspectives." For further information on the conference please contact Dr. Armentano at 200 Bloomfield Avenue, West Hartford, CT 06117.

Please send material for inclusion in FRONTLINES *to Lynn Kinsky at* REASON, *P.O. Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111. Meeting and activity announcements will be carried as space permits; however we must receive announcements two months before the actual event if we are to publish it as a "coming attraction" rather than as history. Tell us about your group, your activities, your strategies for social change in as much detail as possible. Items accompanied by photos are especially welcome.*

COMMITTEE FOR THE

ANTI-INFLATION AMENDMENT

To the Constitution of the United States

Box 1776, Chicago 60690

SECTION 1. **The Right to Trade**

Congress shall make no law restricting the freedom of wages and prices nor authorizing commodity allocations. The right of citizens to make contracts and to trade freely among themselves shall not be abridged.

SECTION 2. **Monetary Policy**

It shall be the policy of the Treasury of the United States to stabilize the supply of cash notes and Federal credit in circulation, and thereby to preserve and increase the purchasing power of the currency of the United States.

SECTION 3. **Fiscal Policy**

On the fourth day of July in the year following the year of ratification of this article, the sixteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States shall be repealed. A levy of taxation sufficient to discharge the financial obligations of the Federal government shall be apportioned among the several States by Congress annually as the first act of each session, but the power of direct taxation shall be reserved to the several States. Congress shall not impose any tax on the property or income of citizens of the United States, nor shall any internal revenue service be maintained.

SECTION 4. **Commercial Policy**

The Government of the United States, or of any State, shall not, through any law or administrative action, prevent or forbid any person or corporation from offering for legitimate sale or from lowering the sale price of whatever goods or services may be commercially traded.

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publisher's notes

• **TAXES RISING SHARPLY:** A congressional economic survey, "Inflation and the Consumer in 1974," made public on Feb. 10, discloses that sharply increased tax payments rose much faster than all other price increases in the 1974 consumer budget, and that this burden had greatest impact on low-income and middle-income taxpayers. The Joint Economic Committee (JEC) report noted that for a family with an "intermediate" income of $14,466 in 1974, personal income taxes rose 26.5 percent while Social Security taxes jumped by 21.6 percent; this compared with increases of 14.3 percent in transportation, 13.5 percent in housing and 11.9 percent in food costs. For a family of four with an income of $9,320, total federal, state, and local income taxes rose an average of 31 percent over 1973.

The boost in income taxes came about because dollar incomes continued to rise to compensate workers for price inflation, which pushed taxpayers into higher and higher tax brackets—thus causing a sharp decline in disposable income. According to Senator Hubert Humphrey, chairman of the JEC, "this is the first recession in history during which the tax burden on families and individuals has increased." Senator Humphrey did not mention the pernicious effect of the graduated income tax system as providing an incentive for government to continue to inflate the money supply—since government tax revenues continually increase without the need to vote a tax hike, as workers are thrust into higher tax brackets by salary increases designed to compensate them for inflation. The *Christian Science Monitor* (Feb. 11) reported that the JEC figures underline an emerging debate in Washington: "How much will Americans willingly pay to support government spending programs?" Unfortunately, we can't identify either the Democrats or Republicans as siding with the long-suffering taxpayer as we drift more rapidly towards a controlled economy.

• **ABACO EXAMINED:** The Abaco Independence Movement (AIM) which is attempting to set up a laissez-faire enclave on the island of Abaco in the Bahamas (see "Abaco: Birth of a New Country," REASON, Oct. 1974) was the subject of a story, "The Amazing New-Country Caper," in the Feb. 1975 issue of *Esquire.* Written by Andrew St. George, the article contains a number of untrue charges concerning AIM, and in next month's issue, REASON plans to carry a response by Mike Oliver, a key backer of AIM.

• **ARTICLES OF INTEREST:** Contributing Editor Alan Reynolds has a fascinating article, "A Kind Word for 'Cream Skimming' " in the *Harvard Business Review,* Nov.-Dec. 1974. Reynolds discusses the common plea of monopolists seeking to have the government ban new competitors or prevent them from charging lower rates by accusing the newcomer of skimming the "cream" off the business.

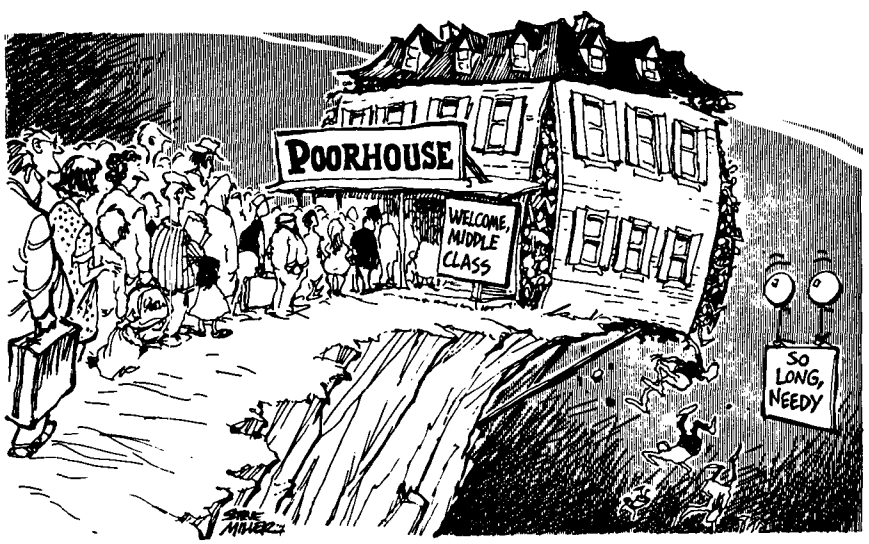
REASON contributor Dennis Chase had an article in the Dec. 1974 issue of the *Chicago Journalism Review* dealing with a consumer advocate's view opposing nuclear energy. The article looks at the issue whether journalists treat statements from the "left" with less skepticism than they show toward the "right." The piece will also appear in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.* Another Chase piece on "Future Schlock"—bogus forecasts that are picked up uncritically by journalists—is now being used as a part of a senior journalism course at Michigan State University.

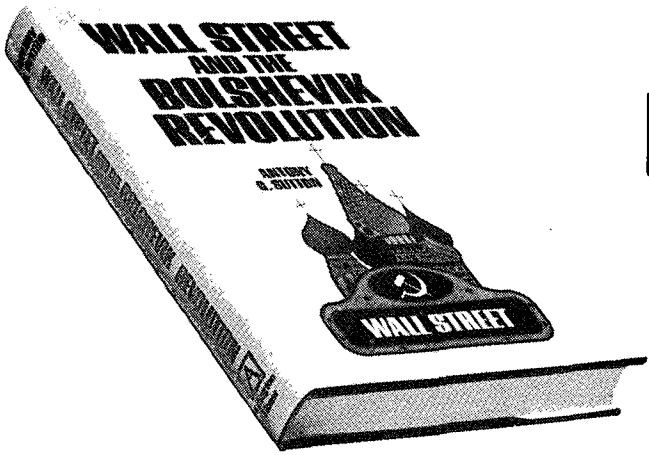
Garrett Harden has an intriguing article, "Lifeboat Ethics: The Case Against Helping the Poor," in *Psychology Today,* Sept. 1974, which focuses on the dangers of enthusiastic but unrestricted generosity.

• **SIEGAN COLUMN:** Bernard Siegan, professor of law at the University of San Diego Law School and author of the landmark book, *Land Use Without Zoning,* is writing a syndicated column on "Land and Law" which discusses such topical issues as the environmentalist movement, land use controls, zoning laws and nuclear power. The weekly column is now carried in 20 newspapers and has a combined readership nationally of one million people per week. Siegan was interviewed in the April 1973 issue of REASON on the subject "The New Approach to Planning: Nonzoning" and he is much in demand as a speaker on land use issues.

• **BRANDEN WORKSHOPS:** Dr. Nathaniel Branden, innovative Los Angeles psychotherapist, is giving a workshop on Biocentric Therapy in London, England on May 17-18 (Quesitor, 187 Walm Lane, London NW 2) and in Amsterdam on May 24-25 (The Center, Kromme Waal 14, Amsterdam 1001). Branden has twice been interviewed in REASON, the most recent interview, "On Self Discovery and Self Responsibility," appearing in the May 1973 issue.

• **GOVERNMENT SEWAGE STUDY:** The Environmental Protection Agency wants to dump up to 180 million pounds of sewage sludge into an uncontaminated stretch of ocean twelve miles south of New York's Fire Island. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (Nov. 17), the program has been advocated to determine if the sludge is lethal to marine organisms. It's not surprising that the EPA research scientists who proposed the program are not headquartered in New York (they're in Corvallis, Oregon). And the way things have been going, perhaps we should be grateful that at least these bureaucrats are telling us up front what they're dishing out. ◻





FAMED KREMLINOLOGIST PROVES LINK BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND *SOME* WALL STREETERS

ANTONY SUTTON SHOWS PRECISELY HOW EACH OF THESE MEN HELPED THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

J. Ogden Armour
Pierre S. DuPont
Colonel Edward M. House
William Boyce Thompson
Percy A. Rockefeller
Woodrow Wilson
Lloyd George
Raymond Robins
Senator William E. Borah
Senator John Sharp Williams
Senator William N. Calder
Senator Robert L. Owen
Congressman Henry R. Cooper
Congressman Henry D. Flood
Henry Ford
Charles A. Coffin
Frederick C. Howe
Oscar S. Strauss
James Duncan
Dr. Frank Goodnow
George P. Whaley
Ludwig C.A.K. Martens
Robert Dollar
John Reed
Frank Lyon Polk
Harry Payne Whitney
Harry F. Sinclair
Henry R. Towne
Alexander Nyberg
Kenneth Durant
Julius Hammer
James W. Andrews
J. Pierpont Morgan
Harry Hopkins
Harold H. Swift
Alan Wardwell
Otto H. Kahn
Olof Aschberg
Ivy Lee

One heard rumors over the years... about international bankers backing the Reds. Sober people tended to discount the reports. After all, they made so little sense.

But Antony C. Sutton, pursuing his monumental researches into Soviet trade with the West, unearthed too much evidence to ignore. And Mr. Sutton, affiliated since 1968 with the prestigious Hoover Institution at Stanford, was able to draw on sources probably unmatched in the Western world.

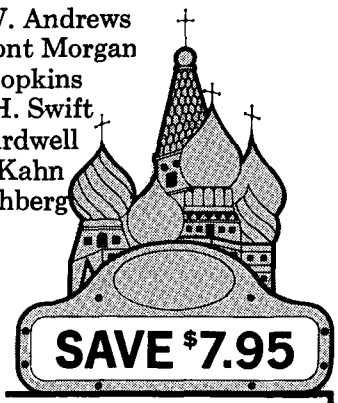
He dug into State Department files... private papers of Wall Street nabobs. Conventional sources sometimes yielded surprising clues. When Mr. Sutton tallied it all up, he had made a breakthrough in research on Communism—and some of these facts bear directly on "detente," and all that it means for America and the West. A few items:

- The American Red Cross Mission to Russia in 1917 included more financiers than doctors. Members were more interested in financial deals than in dispensing medical aid.
- Some bankers privately backed the Red cause—while publicly attacking the Bolsheviks.
- One American banker gave the Reds one million dollars.
- Leading bankers had illegal dealings with the Soviets.

Dispassionately, with overwhelming documentation, Antony Sutton spells out how some powers on Wall Street helped keep the Bolshevik regime alive...during its first shaky years. Ineluctably, this major book recalls Lenin's cynical prediction that the capitalists would fight over who would sell the Communists the rope with which the Communists would hang them.

SUTTON'S RESEARCH REVEALS:

- The role of Morgan banking executives in funneling illegal Bolshevik gold into the U.S.
- How the American Red Cross was coopted by powerful forces on Wall Street.
- Wall Streeters who intervened to free Leon Trotsky, even though Trotsky's stated aim was to engineer "the real revolution"– the Soviet coup which toppled Kerensky.
- The deals made by major corporations to capture the huge Russian market a decade and a half before the U.S. recognized the Soviet regime.
- The "closet socialism" of leading businessmen who paraded publicly as champions of free enterprise.



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Please send FREE **Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution** by Antony C. Sutton and accept my membership in the Conservative Book Club—the only book club expressly for political conservatives. I agree to buy 3 books from among the more than 150 to be offered in the next 15 months, after which I may resign at any time. I will be offered books on politics, investing, social issues, religion, economics, conservative ideas, Communism, history, etc. Membership entitles me to a free subscription to the Club Bulletin, which brims with news of interest to conservatives. I am eligible to buy Club books at discounts of 20% to 89% plus shipping. If I want the monthy Selection I do nothing; it will come automatically about one month later. If I don't want the Selection, or I prefer one of the Alternates, I merely inform you on the handy form always provided. I'll be offered a new Selection every 4 weeks—13 times a year. **RE-209**

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reason profile

Thanks to the Universal Press Syndicate, thirty-four year-old REASON "Viewpoint" columnist David Brudnoy has recently become the only nationally syndicated purveyor of libertarian views. Not that Brudnoy claims to *be* a libertarian—"I *aim* at a libertarian society, as envisioned by our better libertarian thinkers, but I'm conservative in wanting to see this done gradually. I'm also conservative temperamentally." (His timetable for achieving a libertarian society includes having the government cut down to "the basic Lockean functions" by the year 2000!)

Brudnoy was a liberal-leftist until 1964 when he began to rethink his views and started reading Ayn Rand and different types of conservative literature. "Since then I have been ambling back and forth across the libertarian and conservative landscape trying to find the ideal." He became a regular contributor to a number of publications, including REASON, *Human Events, New Guard, The Alternative, Ideas,* and *Counterpoint.* He also has written for *The New York Times Book Review, The Journal of American History, The Boston Globe, The Anaheim Bulletin, The Negro American Literature Forum,* and *Playgirl.* He has written articles for several books and is the editor of *The Conservative Alternative* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973).

David Brudnoy received his B.A. degree in Japanese Studies from Yale in 1962, an M.A. in East Asian Studies from Harvard in 1963, and later received an M.A. and Ph.D. in History from Brandeis University. Since 1964 he has taught at several schools including Texas Southern University, Northeastern University, Boston College, and the University of Rhode Island. He is currently teaching at Harvard's Institute of Politics, and is researching the contemporary American conservative movement.

Besides writing and teaching Brudnoy has a number of hobbies including photography, swimming, tennis, oenophilia, and food ("I write a restaurant column for *Boston Magazine").* He also enjoys films, politics, and reading—his favorite authors include Rand, William F. Buckley, and modern Japanese authors such as Mishima, Dazai and Kawabata. He very much enjoyed F. Reid Buckley's recent book, *Servants and Masters.*

DAVID BRUDNOY

Brudnoy is extremely busy with his various activities—"I am now a commentator with two Boston television stations, working to expand my syndicated newspaper column, regularly writing for seven magazines, and assiduously avoiding the frightening step of sitting down and beginning a book . . ." ◻

letters

A MODEST PROPOSAL

Professor Coase's brilliant article ["Economists and Public Policy"] in the December 1974 issue of REASON offers an explanation for the failure of government that is consistent with *an* important principle of economic theory. In Coase's view government fails because the expansion of government is pressed to the point that diminishing returns produce a negative marginal product. Coase assumes government is motivated to act in the interest of others and merely fails. My article in the same issue ["Bureaucratic Conspiracy and the Energy Crisis"] offers an alternative explanation that is consistent with *the* basic premise of economic theory—that people and organizations act in their self-interest. In this view government acts in its own interest and succeeds.

In Professor Coase's view reducing government runs counter to prevailing attitudes. In my view it runs counter to prevailing interests. It might be that the only way to solve the government problem is to greatly raise the cost to people of providing their services to government. This could be done by taxing those who work in the interest of government in amounts equivalent to the social costs inflicted on society by their services to government, or by other means. If people with fortunes used them to pay bounty for IRS agents and those who provide to government the services of the printing press, government would shrink drastically in size, with a corresponding drastic increase in the public welfare.

P. C. Roberts
Carrollton, GA

ABACO

I was disappointed to see you print in your December 1974 issue, without comment, a letter from one Lannon F. Stafford, who (1) claims allegiance to libertarianism, and (2) advocates that Abaco, when and if it becomes a sovereign country, "should not permit any large influx of immigrants." While you have printed letters from self-described libertarians, including myself, advocating the elimination of various types of political coercion, as well as letters advocating coercion from people who did not claim to be libertarians, the printing of the claims of a would-be "libertarian" who advocates coercion in his letter is a new and unwelcome development. As a libertarian I believe that governments, where they exist, should not use force against any individual unless that individual (1) has violated the rights of another person, or (2) has demonstrably threatened to do so. Consider, however, the situation of an immigrant—for example, someone who has just arrived in Sovereign Abaco, has decided to stay, has rented a residence from its owner, and has begun looking for a job. In what way has that individual violated the rights of anyone else? And if he hasn't, what business does any government have forcing him to leave? Note, moreover, that forcing this individual to leave, or preventing him from entering the country, also violates the rights of the islander from whom that individual would rent a home, since ownership implies the right to sell or rent one's property to anyone, unless such rental or sale would violate an antecedent, voluntary contract. It also violates the rights of anyone with whom the prospective immigrant would trade, to mutual benefit, while living on the island.

It is an incredible insult to genuine libertarians involved in the new country project to claim that making Abaco into a

genuinely free country, with open immigration, would make its native inhabitants go the way of the Hopi and the Mohican. The Hopi and the Mohican are not poor because they lost in free competition, but because their property was forcibly expropriated by the U.S. Government. The libertarian solution to the problems mentioned by Stafford is to give legal title to the "Crown lands" to their legitimate owners, the people of Abaco. This might be done by establishing a Permanent Land Trust, and distributing equal shares in the trust to all native inhabitants. Upon independence the "Crown lands" would be turned over to the Trust, which would become a private organization from then on, separated from the government and subject only to its own fundamental contract, the general laws, and the will of its owners. Within a few decades, demand resulting from massive immigration into the only free country in the world will have driven land rentals to levels matching those which currently prevail in Manhattan or English Bay. The income from the Permanent Land Trust would be more than sufficient to compensate the natives for the disadvantages, if any, of competing with immigrants. The most likely outcome would make the descendants of native Abaconians into a well-to-do upper class, at least until watertight construction on the continental shelf off Abaco became cheap enough to compete with island land. But by the, the Abaconians' grandchildren will have no trouble competing with anyone else.

Adam V. Reed
New York, NY

FREE SPACE COLONIZERS

The International Society of Free Space Colonizers is indeed flattered to have been mentioned no less than twice (Bruce Ramsey's letter in October and Greg Baron's in the December issue) in a major organ of libertarian thought. We are somewhat puzzled but not overly impressed with Bruce Ramsey's unprovoked attempt to misrepresent our organization. Envy for our ability to use the media to good advantage hardly seems like a libertarian trait. It is interesting in the light of Mr. Ramsey's experience as a sometime journalist, that he should be so quick to draw from the hip without ever having attended one of our numerous public meetings, or even attempted to interview the officers or members of the ISFSC.

The ISFSC is based on the idea that life in outer space represents the ultimate aspiration of a freedom seeking individual and offers the greatest possibility in the future for the establishment of truely libertarian societies. However, the ISFSC is not a crackpot, escapist organization as Mr. Ramsey would intone; it is profoundly concerned with the promotion of libertarian ideals and the establishment of a free society both on and off this planet.

Since the founding of the SFSC (now the ISFSC) in March 1972, we have been painfully aware of the mounting obstacles to private enterprise in space. Paul Siegler's recent article "Free Space" (REASON, July 1974) not only documents the feasibility of viable enterprise in space but also the existence of considerable government interference with this effort. Establishing free colonies in space is going to require a long and arduous struggle. Libertarians would do well to consider that space technology may become extremely critical for survival on this planet in the near future.

Although our mission is not directly political, we are strongly committed to actively supporting the Libertarian Party and other friendly movements. Our actions via the libertarian movement have already spoken for our intent. The SFSC accounted for 35 of the 113 signatures required to place the Libertarian Party on the ballot in the state of Washington. During the campaign, SFSC members accounted for the bulk of the legwork. Over 25,000 leaflets were distributed and several thousand persons were directly contacted.

The goals and objectives of the ISFSC speak for the deep level of moral commitment and rationality of our organization:

OBJECTIVES OF THE ISFSC ON EARTH

1. To organize self-awareness among the Creator Class.

2. To construct an industrial-research system capable of launching and sustaining colonies in space.

3. To experiment in systems of values and organization enhancing conscious life in space.

4. To establish the means for a long term colonization of space from Earth.

5. To organize a protective mission permitting the Creator Class to achieve its goals in space.

ULTIMATE GOALS OF THE FREE SPACE COLONIZERS IN SPACE

1. To create a diversity of living, conscious worlds in space offering freedom for an infinite range of conscious entities.

2. To bring about the rise of individuation; the next level of human evolution.

3. To create new forms of life.

4. To extend life throughout the Solar System and ultimately, the Universe.

The ISFSC is incorporating under the laws of the state of Washington. Inquiries should be sent to: P.O. Box 9743, Seattle, WA 98109.

James Owings
Richard $lomon
Angela Basta
Seattle, WA

BEHIND THE SCENES

Readers of REASON might like to know that although many of the interviews published in the magazine are conducted by one person, the development of the questions—at least at the start of a certain line of inquiry—has benefitted from suggestions from various sources. Drs. Brozen, Szasz, Friedman, and von Hayek were interviewed by me (with some questions from others present at a few of these interviews). But the questions I asked were often sent in by people I contacted prior to the interview, people who are more familiar with the thought of these individuals than I.

Unfortunately it would be very cumbersome to cite the source of these questions each time. Nevertheless I should like readers to know that I had help from Bob Poole, Lynn Kinsky, Manny Klausner, Ralph Raico, Joe Cobb, Doug Den Uyl, Al Waterman, and, especially, Marty Zupan. It would be unjust to forget about this assistance, especially when the interviews turn out to be successful.

Tibor R. Machan
Fredonia, NY

PRAISE FRIEDMAN

REASON's interview with Milton Friedman [December] aptly points out what is wrong with the libertarian movement—lack of thought as to how to put the libertarian program into practice. Friedman points this out in reference to the welfare problem. I see no moral difference between the multitudes who would perish under immediate implementation of libertarianism and the multitudes who perish under the implementation of any statist regime.

Libertarian apologists will scream that they did not sign any social contract and are not responsible for any consequences of ending that contract. Well, they should read Arthur Miller's *Incident At Vichy* to see just how responsible we are for our fellow citizens. They should also note that good medical procedure dictates that a dagger should be left in the wound so as to let surgeons remove it properly. Analogously, the daggers of the state should

be carefully removed to allow the victims to live and not bleed to death.

Libertarian Party candidates rush around advocating pulling out all daggers now, oblivious as to the consequences at home and abroad (such as the extermination of good people, e.g. the Israelis). One can speculate that if an uprising of the wounded followed a libertarian takeover, the libertarians would use massive force against them and call it self-defense. The libertarian state would wither away as much as the Marxist states have.

I understand that REASON was founded with the purpose of educating us as to how to construct a transition program from here to there. Unfortunately it has degenerated into a forum for the LP and a Profile of those whose only claim to fame is skiing and campaign slogans. The saving grace consists of articles as those by Friedman and thoughtful letters to the editor.

Alan Scott Kaufman
Skokie, IL

CULTURAL RADICALS

Over the past year, Bruce Ramsey and I have stressed that libertarians ought to (1) dissociate themselves from conservative ideology and politics, (2) assess the authenticity of their public image, and (3) formulate their long-range cultural and social objectives.

The response has been discouraging: Robert Crim (March) condemns us as idiots, David Finkel (March & December) is repulsed by the entire topic, and Greg Baron (December) doesn't even read our statements closely. For me to rebut the December letters would be a waste of space; a conscientious reader, reviewing the references, could do that unaided. Rather, I would address myself to those who would neglect or evade the issues mentioned above.

You, as libertarians, should be well aware of conservatives' historical complicity in advancing fascism (fusion of Government and economy), imperialism, the draft, war, economic regulation, violation of civil rights, and cultural authoritarianism. Yet, as if oblivious to these facts, you seem willing to accept conservatives as comrades-in-arms against the oppression of the state. It has become "bad manners," as it were, to call out your conservative contemporaries on the various coercive positions to which they still owe alliegiance.

It is ridiculous to think that conservatives have anything to teach libertarians. Except, perhaps, political expertise—as exemplified by trends in the LP to trade on existing conservative political groundwork.

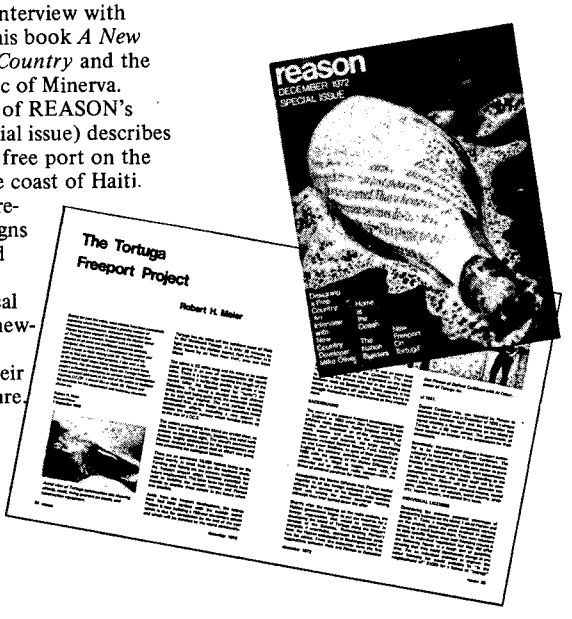
The consequence of these liaisons and miscegenations is that libertarians have failed to establish a public identity *separate* from conservatives. As matters stand, there is little of libertarian philosophy and rhetoric that has not already been co-opted by trendy conservatives—to *their* political benefit, not to yours. What has made this possible is the primarily *economic* interpretation of libertarianism, an interpretation that is indistinguishable from that of conservatism, to a lay person. If Ramsey's and my emphasis on image is "repugnant," I can only ask whether being mistakenly identified as a conservative is *less* repugnant.

The only way by which libertarians will be perceived as separate from conservatives is for libertarians to emphasize a *cultural* interpretation of laissez-faire society. Conservative cultural views are predominantly puritan, conformist, and patriotic. As an alternative, libertarians ought to establish an avant-garde perspective of iconoclasm, sedition, irreverence for superstition/religion, rational hedonism, and intellectual radicalism. You must first attract persons to a *way of*

Have You Seen...

DECEMBER 1972 **$1.50**

This special issue deals with a variety of libertarian-oriented new country, tax haven and free port projects. Leading off the issue is an in-depth interview with Mike Oliver, discussing his book *A New Constitution for a New Country* and the founding of the Republic of Minerva. Robert H. Meier (editor of REASON's May 1974 special financial issue) describes the project to develop a free port on the island of Tortuga off the coast of Haiti. Engineer Will Barkley presents his innovative designs for floating, ocean-based communities, and John Snare presents a historical overview of libertarian new-country ventures—and makes predictions on their probable success or failure. Order your copy of this collector's item today.



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life, before you can sell them the philosophy that would make such a life possible. It is not sufficient for freedom to be less oppressive than contemporary society. It should also be more *exciting.*

Despite its political activism, the libertarian movement has become stagnant and complacent. Few tough questions are being asked anymore. The long-needed re-evaluation of Objectivism is yet to happen. Libertarianism has almost exhausted the fields of politics and economics. It is time, therefore, to explore new concepts of society, of psychology, and of aesthetics, if libertarianism is to continue as a quest for the future. I earnestly hope that I am not alone in these convictions.

Mike Dunn
Seattle, WA

LIMITS OF GROWTH

I have just read Roger MacBride's article on the future of the LP in the January issue of REASON. I am afraid that I am not nearly as sanguine as Mr. MacBride seems to be. My own assessment is this: the LP will grow steadily over the next several years, until it reaches a sort of intellectual "saturation point." This would occur at about the point when the LP can command, say, one million votes in a general Presidential election. I see this number as an absolute, and probably highly optimistic, ceiling. (This will be true IF, and only IF, the LP continues to be the "Party of Principle"; of course, if it begins compromising on those principles to gain immediate victories, the LP may indeed win—and all the rest of us will continue to lose.) At this one-million vote level, we will have converted or attracted most of those who are philosophically amenable to such a party, *and* who are willing to put their ideology on the political block. The extreme left-wing parties seem to have reached this point; they are gaining slowly, perhaps, but I don't believe that they will make any significant gains beyond their present position. They reached *their* intellectual saturation point many years ago.

The LP stands for some definite political and social goals. The fact that a person runs on the Republican or Democratic ticket indicates very little about that person's political philosophy. If one is a Republican, one can choose among such leaders as Barry Goldwater and Edward Brooke. The Democrats, not to be outdone on the political smorgasbord, offer every conceivable ideology from that of Scoop Jackson (fascist, that is) to Woody Jenkins. In distinction to the major parties, a Libertarian *does* (or should) offer a clear alternative to the voter. He stands for ever less governmental interference in the lives of individual citizens.

Reason's Letter of the Month

The letter below, by subscriber Paul Thiel, appeared in the December 15, 1974 issue of *The Kentucky Enquirer:*

TO THE EDITOR: The violence and bloodshed presently occuring in Kanawha County, W. Va., is a perfect example of what happens when a government interferes with the individual's right to choose.

The situation in West Virginia is that public-school authorities have decided upon the use of textbooks and other reading materials that the parents of many of the students deem to be anti-Christian and communistic. The pertinent facts are that the parents think they are, that the public-school authorities demand that the materials be used, and that government-controlled schools can provide no solution to the dilemma.

The solution to such a problem in a free schooling system would be relatively simple. The owners of the school could ultimately decide what study materials would be used. Those who disapproved of the owner's choices could simply withdraw their children from the school and establish their own school or send their children to a school more to the parents' liking. In this way everyone could be satisfied.

Where the schools are controlled by the government, it is also true that the "owners" must decide how the schools are to be operated. But in the case of government-controlled schools, the "owners" are those having the most political power. And in the case of government-controlled schools, the disapproving parents cannot simply withdraw their children from a "public" school and transfer them to a school more to the parents' liking. For under the schooling system the parents pay to send their children to government-run schools whether the children actually attend the schools or not. So for those parents who cannot afford to pay for their children's schooling twice, there is no option to transfer their children to another school. There is only the option to gain control over the existing school system.

This is presently the situation in Kanawha County. Each side in the dispute is intent on gaining political control so that it may control the school system and impose its will on the other side. The methods used, varying from passive resistance to open violence, are textbook examples of the methods historically used to resolve political disputes.

At this point in time, it is unknown how the issue will be settled. This concrete example of power politics is, by itself, rather unimportant. The important thing is the lesson to be learned: in all cases of government intervention, those exercising political power impose their will on those less powerful whose only recourse is to violence.

Paul Thiel
Covington, KY

REASON subscribers are encouraged to write letters to the editor of their favorite newspaper, magazine, or journal, presenting libertarian views on topics of current interest. Each month REASON selects the most notable published letter for republication in this space, and honors the writer by a six-month extension of his or her REASON subscription. Send copies of your published letters to Reason Letter of the Month, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

From conscription to censorship, from pot to postal services, the stand is consistent: *laissez-faire!* Thus, the fact of the LP's *existence* will serve to suggest to the public that there is a rational, workable, *MORAL* alternative to collectivism.

The LP should *never* compromise on its goal of minimal government. However, it can and should remain attuned to current popular concerns. It should seek to exploit mass movements in such a way as to direct their energy *against* statist regulation in favor of individual action. Such issues would currently include:

- Education (voucher systems, private schools, bussing)
- War (abolition of selective service, amnesty)
- Inflation (gold standard, deficit spending, the "Fed")

As such issues come to the forefront of public attention, the LP should be ready to exploit them to its advantage.

If the LP does remain "hard line," it will probably never become a mass-based party. What we should expect, and even look forward to, is the co-optation of

libertarian ideas by the major parties. If the LP reaches the point where it can command several hundred thousand votes in a national election, the Republocrats will certainly take notice. At least one, hopefully both, of the majors will look very hard at the libertarian positions on specific issues and begin mouthing what they feel to be the most politically salable of those positions. Of course, most Demipublicans won't take such positions from any *principle*, but simply as a matter of expediency. They will continue, for a long time anyway, to utter the most blatant contradictions and absurdities. But the important point is that the LP will have caused the whole political dialogue to shift in the direction of freedom. Ultimately, perhaps, the Republicans would remember that they were first established as an anti-slavery party, and realize that taxes and anti-trust laws are just as much slavery as the buying and selling of human beings. And perhaps the Democrats, too, will remember that they were once the party of Thomas Jefferson, and begin dismantling the vast bureaucratic machine they have created to rule our citizenry. If and when it ever does come about that either or both of the major parties should become parties of principle, *individualist* principle, then I would feel that the work of the LP was done.

Though I don't expect it very soon, I look forward to the day when the LP can hold its *final* convention—to disband itself, its work done.

David E. Long
Brookline, MA

MR. MACBRIDE replies: Just you wait and see.—**R.L. MacB.**

Letters from readers are welcome. Each receives editorial consideration, although only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged. They should be kept as brief as possible and are subject to condensation. Letters submitted for publication in this column should be typed, double-spaced. Send letters to REASON, P.O. Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

LUCIFER'S LEXICON
By L. A. Rollins

anarchy, n. The absence of government, leading to a condition of utter chaos as millions of ex-government-employees run amuck, rioting, looting, raping and pillaging.

antitrust, adj. Pertaining to opposition to monopoly and its evils. Our antitrust laws are enforced by the Federal Government—a monopoly.

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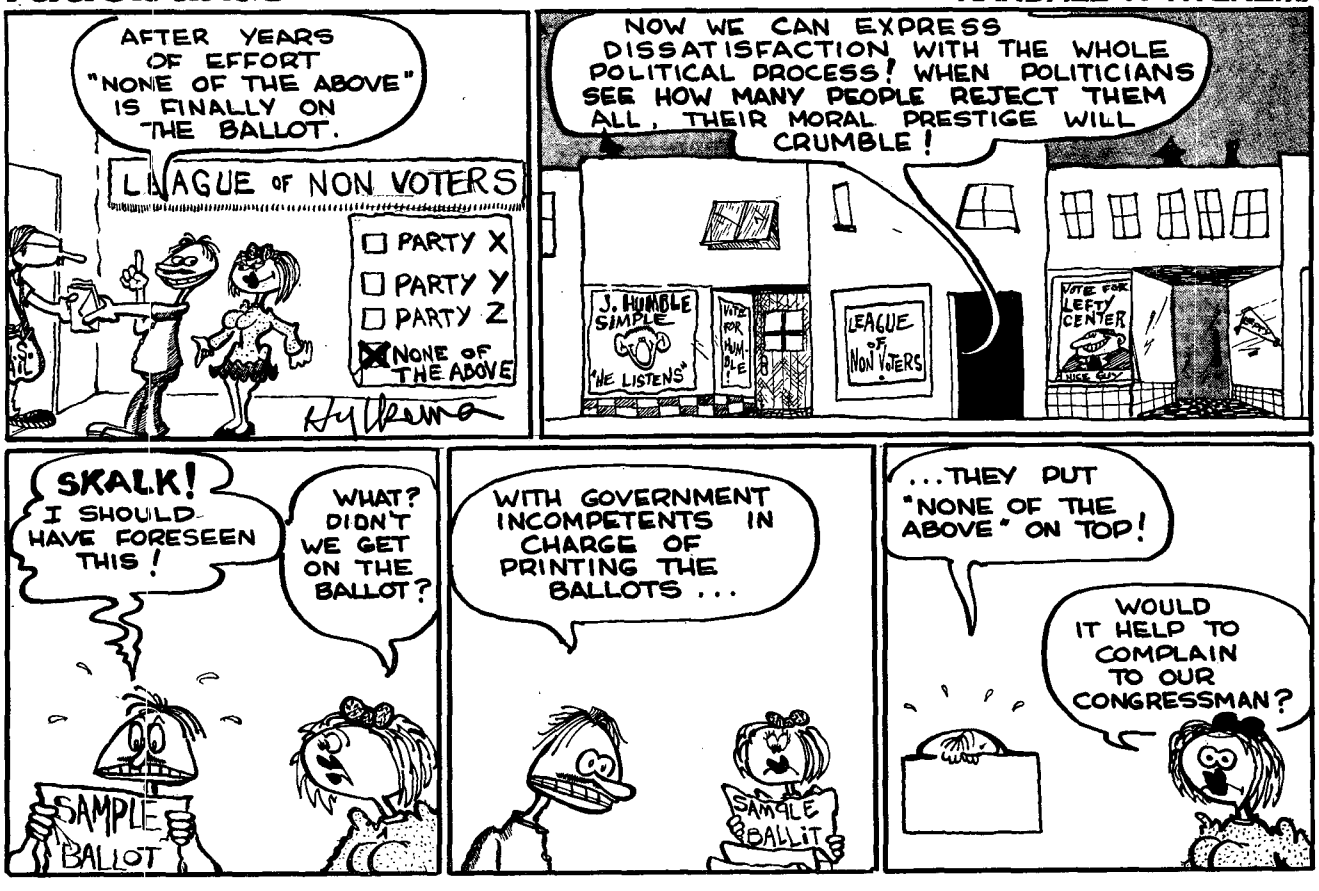
AFTER YEARS OF EFFORT "NONE OF THE ABOVE" IS FINALLY ON THE BALLOT.
LEAGUE OF NON VOTERS
PARTY X
PARTY Y
PARTY Z
NONE OF THE ABOVE
NOW WE CAN EXPRESS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE WHOLE POLITICAL PROCESS! WHEN POLITICIANS SEE HOW MANY PEOPLE REJECT THEM ALL, THEIR MORAL PRESTIGE WILL CRUMBLE!
J. HUMBLE SIMPLE
"HE LISTENS"
VOTE FOR HUMBLE
LEAGUE OF NON VOTERS
VOTE FOR LEFTY CENTER
SKALK! I SHOULD HAVE FORESEEN THIS!
WHAT? DIDN'T WE GET ON THE BALLOT?
SAMPLE BALLOT
WITH GOVERNMENT INCOMPETENTS IN CHARGE OF PRINTING THE BALLOTS...
SAMPLE BALLOT
...THEY PUT "NONE OF THE ABOVE" ON TOP!
WOULD IT HELP TO COMPLAIN TO OUR CONGRESSMAN?

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ARE YOU FEMALE AND ONE OF THE RARE INDIVIDUALS who puts intelligence, open-mindedness, the ability to reason and be objective, trust, friendship and love above all else and believes in living a long and healthy life? I am 25 years old, 5'11", 190 pounds and some think I look like a Viking with red hair and trimmed-short beard. I believe in eating good wholesome natural foods and staying physically active. I love the out-of-doors – camping, canoeing, swimming, hiking, tennis, snowshoeing, skiing –, music, dancing, reading and think sex is healthy and natural. I am looking for someone to treat as an individual and equal! I am not into drugs or religion and do not smoke or drink and would prefer the same attributes in you. Please write if I sound interesting even if you are not everything I mentioned and do not let distance stop you, I can travel. Include a photo and I will too. Arthur Geetersloh, Lily Bay Road, Greenville, Maine 04441.

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The classified ad deadline for the June issue is April 1.

BEWARE OF SUBSTANDARD EMERGENCY FOOD PROGRAMS!

All food programs are NOT created equal!

Would you believe a one-year long-storage food program for $299? WELL, DON'T!

Sure, we can package what some people would try to call a 12-month food supply for one person—say around 1570 calories per day and maybe 70 grams of protein—and we can do it for about $100 less than some other folks who advertise in this magazine. And we will—if you insist.

But we don't recommend it, and nobody else in his right mind would either. What others call a "basic food plan," we call "substandard," and about as fine a ticket to malnutrition as you could wish for.

Since you're the kind of person who reads long-storage food ads, you know as well as we do the reasons to have "a little insurance in a can." We don't need to indulge in Doomsday scare tactics; we can simply tell you about what we're offering, why we think it's worthwhile, why we believe it's better than anything else on the market—and then have you leaf around in this magazine or elsewhere and compare our facts with the claims of our competitors.

Now, let's get down to specifics. When we say long storage, we mean every item in our program has a decent chance to last over a long storage period. We think that's just being honest. So no yeast, for instance. It wouldn't last even if it were in Ft. Knox (heaven forbid). Also, no wheat in bags.

We've done our best to figure out what kind of nutritional requirements the average person has and how to adjust such "average" numbers to suit the non-average individuals in a real world. One result of this research is our Daily Rating System for food intake—a feature you won't find in other ads or brochures. Our Daily Rating System tells you how many calories and how many grams of protein a program will give you each day.

We have produced four different packages to suit varying individual requirements. Even if you can't afford the best, with our Daily Rating System you will know what you are getting.

1) SUBSTANDARD—Yes, that's what we call it, even though others may offer it as some kind of acceptable minimum, a "12-month" slow starvation supply of food at a Daily Rating of 1574 calories and 70 grams of protein, all for $299.00. (Actually this unit makes a good 9-month program!)

2) BASIC—For slightly-built individuals, children and big folks who'd like to lose some weight, here is what we regard as a bare-naked minimum (although others would like you to believe it's post-Collapse luxury)—a Daily Rating of 1801 calories a day and 74 grams of protein, a 12-month supply for $349.00

3) STANDARD—For a 12-month diet for a healthy, moderately active individual (no ditch-digging please) —we recommend 2100 calories per day and at least 80 grams of protein. Our Standard Program fills the bill nicely with room to spare at a Daily Rating of 2118 calories and 84 grams protein for $409.00.

4) DELUXE—If you are sick or injured during the jolly, adventurous and character-forming times to come, or if you're simply the type who likes to dress for dinner in the jungle, here it is: eating high off the hog—or a #10 can, anyway. This food program contains a minimum of 2324 daily calories and a whopping 97 grams of protein. A 12-month plan for $479.00.

You may reasonably ask, "How in the hell am I going to pay for all this?." We don't have to tell readers of Reason that "There's No Such Thing As A Free Lunch," but, since we've already pointed out how to get a year's supply of fairly inexpensive ones, we might also add that there are several relatively painless ways to pay for them.

First, doing our bit toward Stopping the Motor of the World—and generally helping to keep inflation roll-along—we accept MASTER CHARGE.

Second, we have a $2,000-minimum group purchase plan with a 10% discount. So get your friends together and send a check.

Finally, since we're free marketeers at heart and will generally do anything (ethical) for a buck, if you don't like any of our programs, or if you are interested in a time-payment plan, let us know, and we'll work something out.

And if our clever folksy advertising copy hasn't caught your imagination by now, let us persuade you to learn more by sending you a booklet designed to answer as many questions as possible in far greater detail. Send us your name and address, along with $1, and we'll let the U.S. Postal Service do the rest (haven't they done enough already?).

Golden Survival, Inc., was organized by the same two busy little beavers, Jean and Eric Westling, who as West-Berg Enterprises, Ltd., have long been established in mail-order as retailers, wholesalers, manufacturers, and publishers (we are kind of the world's smallest conglomerate). Eric was one of the 8 original instigators of the national Libertarian Party and is a board member of both the national and Colorado L.P.

Golden Survival, Inc., also has gold coins available at very competitive prices.

Each program comes with Culinary Capers cookbook, plus plastic lids to reseal cans after opening, plus list of servings for reconstituted food, plus list of recommended additional items that you should add to your program. (NO long storage food program is complete and comprehensive—they can't be!! So we tell you how to fill in the holes via your local grocery store.)

Each program contains dehydrated (low moisture) fruits, vegetables, milk, eggs, other protein foods, fats, and drinks, plus sugar, grains, wheat, and additional goodies, all proportional to the size and price of the programs.

Most items are packed in Number 10 cans, with some in Number 3 cans or 4-gallon pails, depending on the quantity of the item.

Prices do not include freight. Food shipped freight collect—approximately $8 to $14 per hundred pounds depending on your location.

We also recommend a long storage food program as an investment—an inflation hedge.

1. SUBSTANDARD. (with 150 lbs. wheat)	Daily Rating: 1574 calories, 70 g. protein. shipping wt. approx. 400 lbs.	$299.
2. BASIC. (with 150 lbs. wheat)	Daily Rating: 1801 calories, 74 g. protein. shipping wt. approx. 450 lbs.	349.
3. STANDARD. (with 180 lbs. wheat)	Daily Rating: 2118 calories, 84 g. protein. shipping wt. approx. 525 lbs.	409.
4. DELUXE. (with 180 lbs. wheat)	Daily Rating: 2324 calories, 97 g. protein. shipping wt. approx. 575 lbs.	479.
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WHY PRESIDENT FORD CAN'T STOP RUNAWAY INFLATION

. . . Most people *are* guessing wrong about inflation. President Ford's firmly voiced assurances that inflation will somehow be brought under control have soothed the public into a condition of dreamy complacency. The blizzard of optimistic press *releases from the President's economic* advisors have served to divert attention from the continuing inflation and its ravaging effects on the quality of your life.

But the plain and simple fact of the matter is this: *President Ford is powerless to halt, even to slow, inflation without bringing on an even more severe recession or full-blown depression.*

So what can you expect in the days ahead? Look for the dollar to continue the decline that has lost it 71% of its purchasing value since 1940. Look for any cash you may have in a savings account to lose at least 5% to 10% of its value *after interest* in the next twelve months. If you are invested in common stocks, expect them to do as badly or worse. If you are depending on a pension, annuity or on Social Security for your retirement years expect to be counted among the worst victims of the 1970's inflation. Be prepared for severe fuel, food and other commodity shortages in the months ahead. And if you have not made plans that anticipate the rioting and social turmoil that could grow out of such conditions, understand that you are taking grave risks with your safety and your family's.

Professor Murray N. Rothbard, one of the world's leading free-market economists, and a noted social philosopher, describes the economic prospects for the future in this way:

> "What we face nowadays is a recession of a new type: an inflationary recession or depression which combines the worst features of the classic boom and bust. We face periodic declines in production and increases in bankruptcy and unemployment but *along with* continuing inflation. . . there is nothing more certain in this world than the prospect of continuing inflation in the short-term and the long."

The next few months may offer the last chance you will have to provide for the safety of your family and yourself and to secure your assets—whether a few thousand or several hundred thousand dollars—against the financial and social storms ahead.

The Inflation Survival Letter

These conditions led the publishers of HUMAN EVENTS, America's most widely read conservative newsweekly, to draw on its vast sources of confidential information *in upper circles of government, finance and* industry, to publish a newsletter that would not only help you to understand the causes of the present conditions but would also give you *down-to-earth-advice* about how to protect your assets in today's inflation-recession climate and show how to provide for the safety of your family in the event of a breakdown of the social order.

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- **Speculative Versus Solid Inflation Hedges:** (The pros and cons of owning gold and silver coins, silver bullion on margin, gold mining stocks, foreign currencies, currency futures, art objects and antiques, real estate and undeveloped land. Why each may be good or bad for a particular investor and pitfalls to avoid in buying and selling).
- **Small Investor Can Now Buy 9% Treasury Securities**
- **Storing Valuables At Home**
- **Dangers in Australian Gold Shares**
- **How The Coming Credit Collapse Will Affect You**
- **How Inflation and Recession Will Affect Your Pension, Deferred Tax Plan, Trust Fund And Social Security**
- **A Smart Way To Stock Your Freezer Against A Lightning Disaster**
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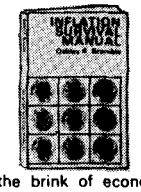

This indispensable guide to inflation-depression economics is Oakley R. Bramble's plain-spoken, non-technical introduction to economic survival today. It explains how we have come to the brink of economic catastrophe—and exactly what we can expect will *really* happen over the coming years to common stocks, real estate, precious metals, credit, U.S. and foreign currencies and the cost of energy.

It clearly describes the four perils that face every nation in the world today. It advises how to *defend* yourself against the possibility of a disaster if you are well-to-do . . . and how to prepare yourself and your family if you are *not*. Above all: *it tells you exactly what events, news stories and government actions to look for as signals that we are in the final stages of runaway inflation—depression*—sky rocketing unemployment—social unrest—hungry mobs hell-bent on taking what they want because they do not have anything of value with which to buy or barter!

The Inflation Survival Manual may be the most important reading you do this year—perhaps in the next *ten* years. If you have a fortune, this guide may *save* it for you. If not, it may help you *make* a fortune.

Unconditional Guarantee!

This indispensable manual brings you the kind of advice that would cost you hundreds, perhaps thousands, of dollars if it were given in seminars or in private consultation. I want you to have it FREE as a Charter Subscriber to the *INFLATION SURVIVAL LETTER*. If you ever decide to cancel your subscription your full payment of $20 will be immediately refunded and *the Inflation Survival Manual* will be yours to keep for the trouble!

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You Have Everything to Gain and Nothing to Lose by Acting Now!

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Inflation Survival Letter

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